



Addressing Racism



Facilitating Cultural Competence in
Mental Health and Educational Settings



EDITED BY

MADONNA G. CONSTANTINE, PhD ■ DERALD WING SUE, PhD

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Preface

THE DELETERIOUS EFFECTS of racism have been well documented in the fields of mental health and education. For some mental health professionals and educators, the topic of racism (and its associated notions) strikes chords of discomfort, anxiety, resistance, anger, and even shame. Operating from these feelings, some of these individuals display passivity toward racial and cultural issues in an effort to create melting pot environments in mental health and educational contexts. The importance of examining how racism relates to mental health and education professionals' ability to function competently in their work environments cannot be overemphasized.

Many counselors and educators are poised to act as agents of social change. Because racism has negative effects on both the oppressors and the oppressed, counselors and educators must identify ways to eliminate racism of various levels to improve the mental health of communities at large. It also behooves mental health professionals and educators to understand how ethical practice and teaching can be compromised by unchecked assumptions and perceptions about race. Mental health professionals, educators, and administrators also must strive to understand how racism can be manifested at various levels in myriad contexts to dismantle this oppressive force authentically. Making and following through with the commitment to understand racism, in both its covert and overt forms, and the role it plays in mental health and educational settings is imperative if true racial equality is to become a reality.

This book was developed for mental health professionals, educators, and administrators who are challenged to ensure their multicultural competence in a society that is becoming increasingly ethnically and racially diverse. The book offers its readers an opportunity to identify racism on both conscious and unconscious levels and to address the role of racism in clinical practice, training, and educational settings. The book also provides case vignettes and critical incidents to increase readers' understanding of racism and of how racism could impede multicultural competence in mental health and educational scenarios. The authors of the chapters include well-known scholars, administrators, educators,

practitioners, and researchers who are employed in a variety of mental health and educational work settings.

The book is divided into four general parts. The first part of the book provides an overview of racism in the context of mental health and educational settings. The second and third sections address ways in which racism can be manifested in the context of mental health and educational settings and the implications of these manifestations in individuals' lives. The final section of this book provides concluding thoughts and future considerations for eradicating racism in mental health and educational settings by expanding the social justice efforts of mental health and education professionals in organizations, institutions, and society.

Our work on this edited book would not have been possible without the love and support of our significant others, families, and close friends. We thank them for their patience in bearing with our sometimes grueling schedules in our attempt to meet various deadlines. We also greatly appreciate the excellent work of the contributors of chapters in this book. It was a pleasure working with each of them on this project, and we are indebted to them for helping us bring this dream to fruition.

We dedicate this book to our parents and ancestors who sometimes experienced unspeakable acts of racism over the course of their lives. Through your struggles, we have emerged strong! We thank you for shaping us into the people we are today. To our readers, we genuinely hope you enjoy reading "Addressing Racism: Facilitating Cultural Competence in Mental Health and Educational Settings."

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PART I

What Do We Know
about Racism?

CHAPTER 1

Racism in Mental Health and Education Settings

A Brief Overview

MADONNA G. CONSTANTINE

RACISM IS A pervasive and chronic problem in the United States that adversely affects individuals and communities of color by impeding their optimal growth and functioning (Pierce, 1995). Racism has been described as an expression of institutionalized patterns of White power and social control that serve to subordinate People of Color because of their racial or ethnic group membership (Bowser & Hunt, 1996). Despite the dismantling of racist policies, such as segregated schooling, and the implementation of policies aimed at remedying racial inequities, such as Affirmative Action, racism continues to infect American society, whether as race-based hate crimes (Carter, 1994; Chan & Haro, 1996) or as more subtle, but equally as dangerous, acts of discrimination (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Social scientists have worked for many decades to understand the nature and effects of racism (Allport, 1954; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996; Jones, 1972; Ridley, 2005), but there exists a paucity of writings that attempt to illuminate the negative effects of racism on those individuals who perpetuate it (Bowser & Hunt, 1996).

In the United States, White Americans largely dominate government, judicial systems, big business, and the media, thereby affording them

I am very grateful to Christina Capodilupo for her outstanding assistance with this chapter.

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disparate power and social control relative to People of Color. A central feature of racism is the power and control used to instate discriminatory practices in a broad and pervasive manner. Given the aforementioned phenomena, which focus on the power differential between dominant and nondominant racial or ethnic groups, racism can be distinguished from the constructs of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypes.

Allport's (1954) definition of prejudice, perhaps one of the most widely accepted definitions in this regard, noted that prejudice is the expression of either affirmative or negative bias toward persons of a particular group or who fit into a certain category. Discrimination is the active form of prejudice and is the expression of negative bias through exclusionary practices. When discrimination is racially motivated, it is the expression of prejudice toward a person or group of persons based on their racial group membership. Furthermore, stereotypes are fixed, inflexible conceptualizations about people based on their belonging to a particular group. Stereotypes are essentially broad overgeneralizations, and although they are not always negative in nature, they always serve to stifle individual characteristics and often are inaccurate portrayals. Although Whites generally enact prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypes toward People of Color, these phenomena differ from racism in that they can occur in nondominant groups. In other words, an Asian American person can be prejudiced toward, discriminate against, or stereotype a Latino American individual but, based on the definition of racism used in this chapter, an Asian American person generally does not possess the social power necessary to be racist toward any member of a nondominant group.

Both blatant and subtle forms of racism operate to deny People of Color the same opportunities and access afforded to Whites in U.S. society. This chapter offers a brief overview of various types of racism, particularly with regard to their manifestation in mental health and educational settings. In addition, a concise summary of the implications of racism for mental health and educational settings is provided.

RACISM: ITS TYPES AND OPERATIONALIZATION

Examining the various forms of racism and the ways in which racism is manifested is essential to understanding this complex construct. Jones (1972) identified three broad types of racism: (1) individual, (2) institutional, and (3) cultural. Individual racism refers to any discriminatory attitude or act that serves to subordinate a person or persons based on their color (Jones, 1997). Not only are racially motivated hate crimes against an individual or a group considered examples of individual racism, but less overt acts of racism, such as locking car doors when teenagers of color

pass in front of a car, also are acts of individual racism. Institutional racism occurs when the policies, practices, or structure of any institution (e.g., government, judicial, educational, religious, corporate, or law enforcement system) supports or enforces decisions that oppress People of Color and simultaneously benefit the majority group (Jones, 1997). Examples of institutional racism include segregated school practices and racial profiling. Cultural racism occurs when the majority group assumes cultural heritage superiority and imposes this superiority onto other groups (Jones, 1997). Imposing Eurocentric practices and beliefs as universal standards or norms and ignoring the cultural heritage of other groups (whether or not as a conscious attempt to extinguish this heritage) is a form of cultural racism.

S. P. Harrell (2000) expounded on Jones's (1972) earlier delineations of racism to include four general contexts in which specific experiences of racism occur: (1) interpersonal, (2) collective, (3) cultural-symbolic, and (4) sociopolitical. Individual, institutional and cultural racism interact in all four contexts. The interpersonal context refers to racism as it is manifested during exchanges or interactions between individuals. The collective context is the manifestation of racism in large groups of people. Individual, institutional, and cultural racism interact in this context to produce the combined effect of racial disparities, such as in educational achievement or in the criminal justice system. The cultural-symbolic context is racism as it is expressed through vehicles of cultural knowledge, such as in media images, arts, literature, and scientific research and inquiry. In this context, People of Color tend to be portrayed as inferior, criminal, lazy, or terrorists in efforts to perpetuate notions of White racial superiority and to maintain White racial dominance. Racism as it is displayed in political debates, public discourses on race, institutional policies, and legislative processes is considered a manifestation of racism in the sociopolitical context because any message about race that is created by these sources informs the sociopolitical realities of People of Color in the United States.

Racism can be overt or covert and intentional or unintentional. Overt or intentional racism refers to explicit acts of oppression toward People of Color and unconcealed attitudes of racial superiority, whereas covert or unintentional racism refers to subconscious racist beliefs that manifest as attitudes or actions that subordinate People of Color (Ridley, 2005). Dovidio et al. (2002) referred to this latter form of racism as "aversive racism," which occurs when a well-intentioned White person acts according to unconscious racist beliefs. In the majority of cases, individuals who are guilty of covert racism consider themselves to be racially unbiased and adamantly deny racist feelings (Dovidio et al., 2002). Research has

shown that covert and unintentional racism is far more prevalent than is overt and intentional racism (Dovidio et al., 2002). Further, covert and unintentional racism has been documented to be more dangerous than overt and intentional racism because the oppressors cannot directly access their racist thoughts and feelings and so deny that they exist (Sue, 2003).

Related to racism, racial harassment refers to biased, oppressive, and differential treatment based on race in the context of work or social environment (Harrick & Sullivan, 1995). Racial harassment is a multidimensional construct that can involve verbal harassment (such as racial slurs), exclusionary practices from work-related or social events based on race or ethnicity, and physical forms of harassment directed at a particular person or group because of race or ethnicity (Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Ormerod, Bergman, Palmieri, Drasgow, & Juraska, 2001). A positive relationship between racial harassment and post-traumatic stress symptoms has been found (Schneider, Hitlan, & Radhakrishnan, 2000), so experiences of racial harassment can have profound effects on the work behaviors (e.g., productivity) of People of Color.

Understanding the negative consequences of racism for those who perpetuate it, however, is as important as understanding the effects of racism on those who are its targets. Yet, few research initiatives have addressed the effects of racism on those who belong to the White dominant group (Bowser & Hunt, 1996). Omitting Whiteness as a crucial variable in understanding racism is an outcome of White privilege. White privilege is defined as “the unearned advantages and benefits that accrue to White folks by virtue of a system normed on the experiences, values, and perceptions of their group” (Sue, 2003, p. 137). McIntosh (1989) introduced this concept to the social sciences through formulations about her own Whiteness; she realized that she had been taught about racism as the disadvantages it causes others, without recognition of the advantages of racism for Whites. The effects of racism have been well documented in the fields of mental health and education, and some of these issues are discussed later.

RACISM IN MENTAL HEALTH

Merton (1948) asserted that stigmatizing experiences lead to a decreased sense of self-esteem. Over time, numerous empirical investigations have supported Merton’s assertion. These studies generally suggest a positive relationship between racism and physiological stress (Fang & Myers, 2001; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; McNeilly et al., 1996) and an inverse relationship between racism and self-esteem and life satisfaction (Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997). Racism also has been linked to trauma-related symptoms (J. P. Harrell, Hall, & Taliaferro, 2003), depression

(Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994; Stevenson et al., 1997), and general psychological distress (Mays, Coleman, & Jackson, 1996; Stevenson et al., 1997).

Researchers have termed race-related events that lead to a depletion of cognitive and emotional resources as *racism-related stress*. S. P. Harrell (2000) defined racism-related stress as “the race-related transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that are perceived to tax or exceed existing individual and collective resources and threaten well-being” (p. 44). S. P. Harrell (2000) also delineated six types of racism-related stress:

1. Racism-related life events (i.e., time-limited life experiences such as police harassment or housing discrimination).
2. Vicarious racism experiences (i.e., the observation and report of racist experiences of others, such as the beating of Rodney King).
3. Daily racism microstressors (i.e., everyday slights and actions, which are often unconsciously enacted but serve to remind one of their racial status in the world, such as the clutching of one’s purse when an African American male approaches).
4. Chronic-contextual stress (i.e., the result of institutional and systemic racism, such as the prevalence of liquor stores in low-income areas).
5. Collective experiences (i.e., perceptions of racism toward one’s group, such as media portrayals).
6. Transgenerational transmission or historical effects of oppression as transmitted from one generation to another (e.g., the slavery of African Americans in prior centuries and the contemporary effects of this system of domination in the lives of African Americans today).

Another area of interest that has received very little attention in the mental health literature is the cultural dimension of social class in connection to racism. Social class remains one of the least understood cultural constructs in the field of mental health (Frale, 1997). Similar to findings on race-related stress, researchers have found that social class and stress interact to cause a more intense experience of stress for those in lower social classes than in middle or upper classes (Liu et al., 2004). Lower socioeconomic status has been linked robustly to depression (Liu et al., 2004), and individuals in lower socioeconomic classes are more likely to be diagnosed as dysfunctional and nonresponsive to treatment (Hillerbrand, 1988). Several studies have reported that counselors’ perceptions of clients’ social class may impede authentic understanding of their clients’ presenting concerns (Sladen, 1982) and may cause counselors to overlook clients’ experiences that are shaped by social class (Weber, 1996).

Studies on social class stigma have reported that individuals are affected adversely by stereotypes about their social class (Croizet & Claire, 1998; Granfield, 1991) and that classism can be a daily struggle for those in lower socioeconomic classes (Grella, 1990). People who experience racism-related stress and classism face multiple oppressions. Moreover, People of Color are disproportionately represented in low socioeconomic classes and the underclass (hooks, 1995), and there are marked racial inequities by household as well as individual income in the United States (Liu et al., 2004). Nonetheless, there is very little research to date that explicitly studies the links between racism and classism, and the ways in which individuals and groups negotiate multiple oppressions in this regard.

hooks (1995) challenged people to consider the intersectionality of race, class, and gender when attempting to understand racism and its manifestations in individuals' lives. For example, Buchanan and Ormerod (2002) found that African American women indicated that workplace experiences of victimization are not easily separated by race and gender. The authors labeled this entwined experience of oppression "racialized sexual harassment," concurring with Mecca and Rubin (1999) that the issue of sexual harassment is inextricably linked with that of racism for many African American women. Furthermore, in a qualitative study investigating the eating habits of adult women, Thompson (1994) reported that stress related to racism, classism, and heterosexism contributed to troubled eating. Much like Buchanan and Ormerod's (2002) study, the women in Thompson's (1994) study were unable to dissect experiences of racism from those of sexism, heterosexism, and classism.

Faced with the responsibility of understanding multiple oppressions and the intersections of racism with sexism, classism, and heterosexism, mental health practitioners are challenged to be vigilantly aware of their personal role in perpetuating racism. Without keeping a constant check on their potential for racism, clinicians are likely to reproduce the racist structure inherent in society at large in their work with clients.

RACISM IN EDUCATION

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled to end racially segregated school systems in the United States in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Although progress was made to establish racially equitable schools and school policies, research has shown that, over the past decade, there has been a resurgence of school segregation by race (Orfield, Frankenberg, & Lee, 2003). This fact has caused some educators to appropriately remark that the issues that the *Brown* case tried to address in 1954 continue to plague Americans over 50 years later (Gay, 2004). Illustrating the resurgence of school

segregation was a study by the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University (Orfield et al., 2003), which found that African American and Latino students became increasingly segregated from White students in their schools during the years 1986 to 2000. Residential patterns and school choice (i.e., private or public) are not solely to blame for this resurgence of segregation; the past decade has seen an increasingly conservative judiciary overturn desegregation decisions and policies that support racial segregation in the schools (Orfield et al., 2003; Reardon & Yun, 2002). The resegregation of schools is a particular concern for many educators because segregated schools in urban areas often are associated with lower levels of educational achievement among students of color (Ikpa, 2003; Oakes, 1990).

Although understanding the negative effects of school segregation on students of color is imperative, it is equally as important to understand the experience of students of color in schools that are not necessarily racially segregated, but that still are victimized by institutional racism. Gay (2004) noted that early desegregation efforts forced students of color to travel out of their own communities to attend schools in which pedagogical and structural accommodations were absent. Unfortunately, the tradition of “teaching White” continues as teachers in training avoid facing multicultural issues in the classroom and racial issues in education (Gay & Kirkland, 2003). Many teacher educator programs fail to incorporate sufficiently issues of race and ethnic diversity in classroom practices (Brown, 2005; Darling, 2005). Despite the idea that students of color are the majority of students attending schools in some states and that they are projected to be nearly 50% of the student body nationally by the year 2020, America’s teaching force is over 80% White, with increases projected annually (Cross, 2003).

Preparing teachers to be culturally competent is a necessity if racial inequities in education are to be remedied. Infusing teacher education programs with multicultural literature is even more imperative when considering previous research, which has shown that students in such programs often hold intractable racist views that are only reinforced and strengthened by their academic courses fieldwork experiences (Tiezzi & Cross, 1997). Creating multicultural classrooms and curricula can be a challenge for White educators, many of whom need to examine their own privilege and role in perpetuating racism. Ford and Trotman (2001) highlighted four aspects of culturally competent educators:

1. They possess self-awareness and self-understanding and are self-reflective about their own views of cultural diversity and culturally diverse students.

2. They possess cultural awareness and understanding in attempts to understand the worldviews of culturally diverse students.
3. They are socially responsive and responsible educators and practice a commitment to multicultural education in all settings.
4. They practice culturally sensitive techniques and strategies by adopting principles of learning that meet the cognitive, emotional, and psychological needs of culturally diverse students.

Ford and Trotman (2001) also discussed the need for teachers to create culturally responsive classrooms and highlighted the notion that students of color must feel a sense of belonging and empowerment in these classrooms.

IMPLICATIONS

Individuals are affected adversely when both intentional and unintentional racism exists among mental health professionals and educators. As the connections between racism, mental health, educational outcomes, and well-being continue to unfold, practitioners, educators, and administrators are challenged to understand their personal role in racism and to understand the role of their respective systems in perpetuating racism. As mental health professionals and educators, we stand at a crucial crossroads on the path to understanding racism and its deleterious effects on nondominant and dominant groups. Our jobs as mental health professionals and educators have become increasingly difficult, as forms and manifestations of racism have changed with the times of political correctness to become less conspicuous, less conscious, and less identifiable. Unconscious, unintentional, and covert forms of racism cause this construct to be infinitely complex and challenge mental health professionals and educators to work to destroy an enemy that frequently is invisible and easily defended by many.

Working to eliminate racism is a social justice imperative for mental health professionals and educators. The relative dearth of practical writings that focus on ameliorating racism in the fields of mental health and education underscores the notion that racial inequities continue to persist in and permeate the United States, with critical consequences for People of Color in the areas of personality development, psychological well-being, physical health, educational attainment, and financial well-being. Critical consequences of racism also exist for White individuals in terms of their well-being across a range of social, occupational, and personal domains. Simply stated, when White individuals intentionally or unintentionally establish or sustain a societal status quo that engenders racism or

racist ideologies and policies, there undoubtedly are ramifications that are manifested in their mental, physical, interpersonal, and spiritual lives. Most important, for both People of Color and Whites, the ability to develop an optimal, positive self-identity (Myers, 1992) cannot be maintained in the face of racism. Because of the aforementioned consequences of racism for People of Color and Whites, mental health professionals and educators must have an ongoing commitment to eradicating the beast known as racism.

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CHAPTER 2

The Invisible Whiteness of Being

Whiteness, White Supremacy, White Privilege, and Racism

DERALD WING SUE

IN OUR SOCIETY, Whiteness is a default standard; the background of the figure-ground analogy from which all other groups of color are compared, contrasted, and made visible (D. W. Sue, 2004; Wildman & Davis, 2002). From this color standard, racial/ethnic minorities are evaluated, judged, and often found to be lacking, inferior, deviant, or abnormal. Because Whiteness is considered to be normative and ideal, it automatically confers dominance on fair skinned people in our society (Jensen, 2002; McIntosh, 2002).

Whiteness would not be problematic if it weren't (a) predicated on White supremacy, (b) imposed overtly and covertly on People of Color, and (c) made invisible to those who benefit from its existence (D. W. Sue, 2003). Seen from this vantage point, Whiteness is an invisible veil that cloaks its racist deleterious effects through individuals, organizations, and society. The result is that White people are allowed to enjoy the benefits that accrue to them by virtue of their skin color. Thus, Whiteness, White supremacy, and White privilege are three interlocking forces that disguise racism so it may allow White people to oppress and harm persons of color while maintaining their individual and collective advantage and innocence.

Racism hides in the background of Whiteness and is protected through a conspiracy of silence that aids in making it invisible (D. W. Sue, 2005).

As long as it is an unacknowledged secret, it allows White people to accept the unearned advantages of their skin color while allowing them to deny responsibility for how it disadvantages other groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans; Harris, 1993; Tatum, 2002). Because of its everyday occurrence and because its normative features are insidiously manifested in our institutions and culture, Whiteness becomes transparent when White people are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, average, or ideal (Sleeter & Bernal, 2004). The result is that both White supremacy and racism become culturally conditioned into the lives of White people, albeit without their informed consent, and institutionalized in the very organizations that control their lives (Jones, 1997; Ridley, 2005; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF WHITENESS TO RACISM: A FOUR-STEP PROCESS

Early racial classifications and many social constructions of race have used physical characteristics to distinguish one subgroup from another (Jones, 1997; Krogman, 1945). Despite the lack of scientific support for the clear biological definition of race (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005; Rowe, 2005; Wang & S. Sue, 2005), people in this society continue to use it to differentiate between groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, White European Americans, Latino/Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans). Physical differences involving skin pigmentation, facial features (nasal index and lip form), head form, and hair texture are commonly used. Considered one of the most important societal dimensions of race, however, is skin color that can vary from very light to dark. Theoretically, being fair skinned or White has no positive or negative connotations. Whiteness is only problematic when it becomes associated with White supremacy and forcefully imposed on an unsuspecting populace through a process of socialization and social conditioning (Jones, 1997; Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993). The process by which Whiteness is transformed into White racism is diagrammed in Table 2.1.

TRANSFORMATION ONE—ASSOCIATION OF WHITENESS WITH WHITE SUPREMACY

Whiteness and White supremacy become inextricably linked to one another so that symbolic associations with fair skin color become elevated to superior status, and darker colors come to connote inferiority. The doctrine of White supremacy can operate at both a conscious and un-

Table 2.1
From Whiteness to Racism

Whiteness	
The constellation of physical features most characterized by fair or light skin color/tone. Other physical features may be considered ideal (associated with Western traits) such as blond hair, blue eyes, or elongated face. Whiteness, alone, conveys neither positive nor negative valence.	
+	
White Supremacy	
A doctrine of White racial superiority and non-White inferiority that justifies domination and prejudicial treatment of minority groups. It strongly conveys positive qualities to Whiteness and negative qualities to non-White groups.	
+	
Power Imposition	
The ability to define racial reality by imposing White supremacist ideology and beliefs on the general population (both Whites and People of Color).	
via	
Schooling and Education + Mass Media + Significant Others and Organizations	
Three mechanisms used to convey the superiority of Whiteness and its associated correlates through a process of social conditioning.	
yields	
White Racism	
The individual, institutional and cultural expression of the superiority of one group's cultural heritage over another and the power to impose and enforce that worldview upon the general populace.	
Outcome	
White Privilege (Advantage)	Non-White Inferiority (Disadvantage)
Unearned advantages and benefits that accrue to Whites by virtue of a system normed on the experiences, values, and perceptions of their group.	Unequal/unfair treatment that results to People of Color not from their own actions but based solely on the color of their skin or visible physical features.

conscious level. It rests on an interlocking set of beliefs and principles that justifies discrimination, segregation, and domination of People of Color (Feagin & Feagin, 1996; Welsing, 1991). The conscious manifestation of White racial superiority and minority inferiority are most likely to be directly voiced by White supremacists such as the Skinheads and

Ku Klux Klan. Most White Americans in our society, however, would openly deny or denounce these conscious and overt expressions, but it is the unconscious and deeply embedded White supremacist notions in people that pose the greatest threat to persons of color (D. W. Sue, 2005).

TRANSFORMATION TWO—POWER TO IMPOSE A BIASED RACIAL REALITY

Whether intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, White supremacist notions are imposed on the general populace and help shape their racial reality or worldview (Hanna, Talley, & Guindon, 2000; D. W. Sue, 2003). The societal racial curriculum is based on White superiority and minority inferiority. The history of certain groups (White Western European groups) are glorified and celebrated while non-White groups are portrayed as inferior, primitive, and undesirable. Misinformation, distortions, and stereotyping of groups of color contribute to the inaccurate images that people are conditioned to believe. People are taught that African Americans are intellectually inferior, good athletes and musicians, dangerous, criminals, drug addicts, and impulsive; Asian Americans are passive, hard working, studious, disloyal, sneaky, model minorities, and lack leadership skills; Latino/Hispanic Americans are illegal aliens, carefree, irresponsible, poor, lazy farm workers, and welfare recipients; Native American/American Indians are savages, primitive, alcoholics, animalistic, uneducable, impulsive, and superstitious. Not only do these stereotypes restrict, oppress, and limit the opportunities of persons of color, but they are associated with intense emotional reactions that are equally damaging and dangerous. Certain groups are to be feared and avoided because they evoke feelings of revulsion, anxiety, disgust, and contamination.

TRANSFORMATION THREE—USING SOCIALIZATION MECHANISMS TO ENFORCE SOCIAL CONDITIONING

The mechanisms by which the racial curriculum is taught to the populace is through monocultural schooling, the mass media, and significant others (Jones, 1997; Ridley, 2005; D. W. Sue, 2003):

- *Monocultural schooling*: Multicultural education scholars and specialists have argued that changing the racial reality of people necessitates incorporating the accurate histories and cultures of People of Color not only into the study of Western civilization but also into the materials used for education, teaching and learning styles, the attitudes and behaviors of teachers and administrators, and the school

campus culture (Banks, 2004; Sleeter & Bernal, 2004). There is a strong suggestion that the content, materials used, and how information is imparted to students by teachers and administrators manifest Whiteness doctrines in the guise of educational truths. Thus, when students are taught falsehoods like Columbus discovered America, the internment of Japanese Americans was a national security issue (not racism), and the taking of land from Native Americans was manifest destiny, worldviews are shaped to reflect White racial superiority and non-White racial inferiority.

- *Mass media:* Media that includes radio, television, newspapers, film, and magazines dispense powerful images of race, racial beliefs, and race relations to the general public. Through its continual repetition of themes and messages about race, culture, and ethnicity, it plays a crucial role in creating the information base by which we learn about other groups in our society (Cortes, 2004). Unfortunately, media also reflects the larger biases of society, especially that of White supremacy. In one study (Children Now, 1998), children of all racial groups were more likely to associate positive qualities with White characters and negative ones with minority characters; Latino and Asian children are less likely to see themselves represented in characters; Whites usually play roles of boss, police officer, and doctor while Blacks play criminal or domestic servant roles. More important, media portrayals generally associate persons of color as not worthy of respect and as being dangerous, criminals, or less capable (D. W. Sue, 2003).
- *Peers and social groups:* Equally powerful as sources of information regarding the racial curriculum are peers, social groups, and organizations. The Boy Scouts of America and the U.S. military, for example, dispense their attitudes and beliefs about gays through their policies of exclusion and “don’t ask, don’t tell.” Messages received from schools, places of employment, churches, and one’s own family perpetuates racism. Insidious social conditioning can occur in families without even making overt derogatory statements about racial groups but through parental actions, as shown in the following example:

It was a late summer afternoon. A group of white neighborhood mothers, obviously friends, had brought their 4- and 5-year-olds to the local McDonald’s for a snack and to play on the swings and slides provided by the restaurant. They were all seated at a table watching their sons and daughters run about the play area. In one corner of the yard sat a small black child pushing a red truck along the grass. One of the white girls from the group approached the black boy and they started a conversation. During that instant, the mother of the girl exchanged quick

glances with the other mothers who nodded knowingly. She quickly rose from the table, walked over to the two, spoke to her daughter, and gently pulled her away to join her previous playmates. Within minutes, however, the girl again approached the black boy and both began to play with the truck. At that point, all the mothers rose from the table and loudly exclaimed to their children, "It's time to go now!" (D. W. Sue, 2003, pp. 89–90)

TRANSFORMATION FOUR—RACISM THROUGH WHITENESS

Through the association of Whiteness with White supremacy and the power to impose racial realities on the general population, Whiteness becomes manifested in racism. In broad terms, racism is the individual, institutional, and cultural expression of the superiority of White Western cultural heritage over all non-White groups. Inherent in this definition is the power to impose and enforce that worldview on those in this society (Whites and non-Whites). There are two outcomes associated with White racism: (1) justification of unequal and unfair treatment to People of Color based solely on the color of their skin or visible physical features and (2) unearned advantages and benefits that accrue to Whites by virtue of their skin color. The former results in health care disparities, employment disparities, and educational disparities to the disadvantage of People of Color. In the latter case, the advantages because of fair skin color are referred to as White privilege.

INDIVIDUAL RACISM AND THE INVISIBILITY OF WHITENESS

The White couple had obviously returned from a formal function, as the man was dressed in a tuxedo and the woman in a long flowing evening gown. Both had checked into the hotel earlier that day and were returning from an evening out. It was 3:30 A.M. as they waited in the lobby for the elevator. When the elevator doors opened, both took a step forward, and then stopped. Inside, to the right stood a Black man in jeans holding what looked like a tool box. On seeing the Black man, the woman unconsciously placed her hand over the diamond necklace she was wearing. Without hesitation, the couple stepped back, and the White man said loudly to his companion, "Let's wait for our friends." The doors to the elevator closed, and the couple waited a few seconds before pushing the button to call for another car.

Incidents such as this occur frequently among well-intentioned White people who would never consciously give voice to the fears and biases they possess. A strong case can be made that these fears and biases are not even accessible on the conscious level to many White Americans (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). In this case, the White cou-

ple reacted in a way that communicated their stereotypes and preconceived notions of Black Americans (the Black man is a potential criminal and not to be trusted).

People of Color, everyday, are subjected to such biases, fears, and behaviors that have detrimental impact on them. White people who automatically cross the street when they see a group of Latino youngsters approach them; sales clerks who require a greater number of personal identification when a Black customer attempts to cash a check; the well-intentioned White school counselor who severely restricts the career choices of Asian American students by counseling them into the physical sciences (because “you people are good at that”); and police officers who stop Black motorists much more often than White motorists are examples of the operation of individual racism.

Elsewhere, I have made the assertion that no one born and raised in the United States is immune from inheriting the racial biases of their forebears (D. W. Sue, 2003). In other words, due to the socialization process outlined earlier, all people are exposed to a racial curriculum that imbues in them biases, prejudices, and misinformation related to race. Furthermore, if these racist components exist in everyone, well-intentioned persons may also engage in prejudicial behaviors consistent with their biases. It means that people may unknowingly stereotype groups different from them and engage in discrimination. While this statement is very difficult to prove, sufficient evidence exists to support the fact that an overwhelming number of White Americans possess racist attitudes and behaviors (Dovidio et al., 2002; Pettigrew, 1981; President’s Initiative on Race, 1998).

If we define individual racism as any attitude or action whether intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, overt or covert that subordinates a person or group because of phenotypical traits most strongly manifested in skin color, and if Whiteness is considered the normative and superior standard by which such judgments are made, it becomes clear that most Whites cannot help but be tainted by racism. Note that the definition includes the words *intentional and unintentional*, *conscious and unconscious* and *overt and covert*. Deliberate, conscious, and overt racism is most characteristic of White supremacists. These are individuals who intentionally inflict harm knowingly on persons of color and they may even engage in overt hate crimes. Fortunately, few White people would fall into this category. Unfortunately, it is not an exaggeration to assert that most White people have engaged in unintentional and unconscious racism (Dovidio et al., 2002).

The masking of racism in Whiteness is aided through certain socialization processes where Whites are consciously taught the principles of democracy—inclusion, fairness, respect for the rights of all, and most

important, equality. The Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the U.S. Constitution are used to ingrain in people's conscious minds basic democratic principles that are reinforced in schools and in what governmental leaders consciously express (President's Initiative on Race, 1998). More subtle and less visible, however, are the metacommunications people receive that contradict democratic ideals and reinforce their beliefs in White superiority and minority inferiority. On the one hand, White Americans are taught to believe in democracy and most consciously experience themselves as moral and decent human beings. On the other hand, the subtle and unconscious socialization process that instills in them racial biases is invisible to their conscious psyche. To acknowledge that they have biases, prejudices, and have engaged in racial oppression (albeit unknowingly) violates their self-image and identity as good and moral persons (Ridley, 2005; D. W. Sue, 2005).

Herein lies the Herculean struggle that many White people must win if they are to become allies in the battle against the perpetuation of racism. If they are unwilling to explore their own Whiteness and racism, if they continue to deny that they have biases and prejudices, and if they continue to allow the status quo to be undisturbed, they knowingly or unknowingly have entered into a conspiracy of silence that protects the conditioned meaning of Whiteness (D. W. Sue, 2004). Furthermore, White privilege reinforces the avoidance of looking at how racism oppresses and harms People of Color because it seduces them with the benefits of being White. On one hand, racism systematically denies equal access and opportunities to People of Color and, on the other hand, it unfairly allows another group (Whites) to enjoy those opportunities and privileges (Ridley, 2005). The latter result is what is called "White privilege" (McIntosh, 2002). White privilege has been defined as:

the unearned advantages and benefits that accrues to White folks by virtue of a system normed on the experiences, values, and perceptions of their group. White privilege automatically confers dominance to one group, while subordinating groups of color in a descending relational hierarchy; it owes its existence to White supremacy; it is premised on the mistaken notion of individual meritocracy and deservedness (e.g., hard work and family values) rather than favoritism; it is deeply embedded in the structural, systemic, and culture workings of U.S. society; and it operates within an invisible veil of unspoken and protected secrecy. (D. W. Sue, 2003, p. 137)

From this definition, it is clear that the seductive quality of White privilege keeps Whites feeling good about themselves and reinforces their self-esteem, identity, and existence. Further, it reinforces the belief that their achievements in life are the result of individual effort and the benefits (advantages) they receive are well deserved. It is harder for them to

entertain the notion that their advantages are unfairly obtained by virtue of skin color or that their achievements may be based more on favoritism rather than individual effort and that their self-esteem is linked to White supremacy. Allowing Whiteness to be invisible helps them deny that they benefit from the oppression of others and that they are not responsible for the racial inequities that exist in society. In essence, self-deception and living a false reality (illusion) are rewarded.

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND THE INVISIBILITY OF WHITENESS

The White management team was considering two candidates for promotion to vice president in charge of production. John Chang and Paul Johnson both had MBA degrees and were well respected and liked by coworkers. Paul, however, was the more outgoing, sociable, and “take charge” in relating to people. During team meetings he appeared actively engaged, would not hesitate to express his thoughts and opinions, and seemed to love the limelight. John was seemingly more introspective, relatively quiet and shy in demeanor, and seemed uncomfortable being the center of attention. While the management team felt John to be exceptionally bright and capable, they believed he was not management material and lacked leadership potential. Some described him as inhibited and more a follower than leader. Using their performance appraisal standards, they indicated that the job called for someone who was assertive, forceful, and who could direct projects and delegate tasks. According to these standards, Paul Johnson was the obvious choice.

The decision to promote Paul Johnson was justified on a set of criteria that described what was desired from the vice president in charge of production and on a performance appraisal system that evaluated how the White and Asian American candidates performed on the work site. In essence, it could be argued that the evaluation and selection process were applied equally to both employees and the outcome was fair. If we look more closely at the criteria used for promotion and at the behaviors of both candidates, questions can be raised about the operation of potential systemic discrimination.

First, the behaviors of both candidates may be strongly influenced by cultural factors. Among many Asians and Asian Americans, subtlety and indirectness are highly prized forms of problem solving (S. Sue, D. W. Sue, Zane, & Wong, 1985). One of the dominant stereotypes of Asian Americans is that they make poor leaders, are passive and inhibited, do not relate well to people, and lack creativity in job performance (D. W. Sue & D. Sue, 2003). Such evaluative statements fail to acknowledge how culturally determined behaviors that differ from that valued in the wider society are given negative labels. Second, it's important for us to question whether the performance appraisal system is actually fair (i.e., it predicts

successful leadership and increased productivity). Would it make any difference in the evaluation of both candidates to discover that (a) leadership among Asian and Asian Americans may differ from those of White norms and (b) that the criteria used for promotion (e.g., assertiveness) did not predict leadership potential for the Asian American candidate? Among many Asian Americans, leadership is defined as working behind the scenes and building group consensus among team members to increase productivity (D. W. Sue & D. Sue, 2003). Would it make any difference to the management team to learn that John Chang's work team is the most productive one in the company and that members consider him to be central to their success? In this case, is the performance appraisal system of the company fair, or is it culture bound and thus reinforces a glass ceiling for Asian Americans who wish to rise to higher management positions? Can it be characterized as a form of institutional racism that remains hidden and embedded in company policy?

Institutional racism is any institutional policy, practice, and structure in governments, businesses, unions, schools, places of worship, courts, and law enforcement agencies that unfairly subordinate persons of color while allowing Whites to profit from such actions. Examples include housing patterns, segregated schools, discriminatory employment and promotion policies, racial profiling, inequities in health care, segregated churches, and educational curriculum that ignore/distort the history of minorities. Whiteness is systematically embedded in all institutional facets of our society (Lipsitz, 2002). It is often disguised in the form of equal treatment or standard operating procedures (SOPS) that are applied equally to everyone and thus, cannot be accused of being discriminatory (D. W. Sue, 2001).

For example, bank lending practices often consider the creditworthiness of home loans based on location. African Americans residing in Harlem who may wish to borrow against equity in their homes are less likely to obtain loans than a White person residing in New York's Midtown area. While the policy used to determine the size of a loan or if one will even be approved is the same for both parties, it inevitably discriminates against Blacks in Harlem. Yet, banking institutions may claim that their SOPS are applied equally to all groups and individuals, thus no racial discrimination occurs.

When the policies, procedures, laws, and structures of society impede equal access and opportunity or even create unfair disparities in our society against persons of color, we have clear evidence of institutional racism. School tracking systems that unfairly perpetuate inequities; educational testing that is normed and standardized on a White population resulting in culturally biased test instruments; hiring policies and practices that

utilize an “old boy’s network”; biased curricula, textbooks, and materials that affirm the identity of one group while denigrating others; and inferior education based on the wealth of the school district all exemplify institutional racism. It takes great commitment and courage to attempt to change policies so firmly embedded in the SOPS of organizations and institutions. In many cases, change can only come about through political action and the law.

An example of such action was in the case of *Serrano v. Priest* (Keiter, 1971), where the California Supreme Court ruled that the quality of education for children could not depend on the wealth of a school district and that the method used in property taxation of communities and the formula used for distribution of educational dollars by California violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The reasoning used by the court was that it unfairly discriminated against People of Color and the poor by denying them the right to a quality public education (Morales & Sheafor, 2004). The decision has implications far beyond California as most states in the nation continue to engage in identical racial practices. Likewise, is it possible that certain practices in our society also increase disparities in health care, access to mental health services, and basic human rights (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001)? If so, do they also not deny equal protection to those groups that are marginalized by policies and practices of our society?

Whiteness shields the operation of institutional racism by couching them in the language of equal treatment, standard operating procedures, and the equal application of criteria or policy to all groups regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, and so forth. Unfortunately, the hidden dimensions of policies and practices arise from White normative standards that are quite transparent and invisible. When applied broadly, it has the effect of creating inequitable outcomes to the disadvantage of People of Color, preferential treatment for Whites, and what has been called “non-random victimization” (Ridley, 2005). What our society must realize is that equal treatment can be “discriminatory” (inequitable outcomes) and that differential treatment may not be preferential at all. People of Color may not be asking so much for equal treatment, but fair treatment; fair treatment dictates differential policies and practices consistent with the goals of social justice (equal access and opportunity).

In summary, it goes without saying that the existence of systemic racial barriers (policies and practices) often mirrors the nature of race relations in the United States. Higher status positions in organizations continue to be White dominated, while lower status positions are occupied by People of Color. Performance appraisal systems, management systems, chain of

command systems, communication systems, and so forth all mask hidden White standards that disadvantage certain groups and advantage others.

CULTURAL RACISM AND THE INVISIBILITY OF WHITENESS

The young Latino student stood in front of his classroom minutes before the school bell was to ring. He spoke rapidly to his brother in Spanish, as they both laughed and joked to one another. The White teacher came out of the classroom to shut the door and to begin her class. When she overheard the two speaking in Spanish, she approached them and admonished them to go to their classes. Then she bent over, and in a stern tone of voice stated: "If you people want to succeed in America, you must learn to speak in English. You will fail in school and life unless you learn good English and stop talking in Spanish. Besides, it's rude to speak a language others don't understand."

This reaction from the White teacher to hearing a language other than English spoken continues to occur in one form or another in our schools and in our society in general. One wonders why the teacher reacted so negatively to the students speaking Spanish and one wonders why hearing another language is so disturbing. After all, isn't being bilingual an asset in our society? Unfortunately, while the teacher may be expressing annoyance and individual bias toward another language, she is also manifesting cultural racism—the belief that one group's cultural heritage is superior to another. In this case, English is superior to Spanish.

The actors involved in the manifestations of Whiteness and White supremacy tend to be at three levels: (1) the individual level—dominant group members (White Americans) discriminating against a target group (persons of color); (2) the institutional level—structures, policies, and practices that unfairly treat persons of color; and (3) the cultural level—imposition of White European American cultural heritage on other groups while negating or destroying the cultural heritage of minority groups.

We have already discussed the first two manifestations, but it is the cultural level (like the earlier example) that provides the overarching umbrella of White racism that gives rise to the other two. Cultural racism has been defined in the following ways:

Cultural racism comprises the cumulative effects of a racialized worldview, based on belief in essential racial differences that favor the dominant racial group over others. These effects are suffused throughout the culture via institutional structures, ideological beliefs, and personal everyday actions of people in the culture, and these effects are passed on from generation to generations. (Jones, 1997, p. 472)

Cultural racism is the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one group's cultural heritage over another group's (arts, crafts, language, traditions, beliefs, and values) and its imposition on racial/ethnic minority groups. (D. W. Sue, 2003, p. 33)

These two definitions suggest that (a) cultural racism, from a White U.S. perspective, is self-perpetuating because White-supremacist notions are passed from generation to generation; (b) that cultural racism weaves a White worldview that attributes positive qualities to Whites and negative traits to People of Color; and (c) that this racial ideology is manifested in not only individuals but also institutions that affect their lives. These two definitions directly address the issue of ethnocentrism, which is characteristic of most societies where all groups tend to elevate their own ethnic heritage. It may be an overstatement, but it appears normal and natural that most groups express a preference for their own habits, values, and styles of life. The defining feature of cultural racism, however, is the power of one group to impose that worldview on another. In this case, power is the ability to act on the needs, desires, and beliefs of White Americans to control and define the existence of persons of color.

The distorted racial reality of Whiteness allows for the systematic mistreatment and victimization of persons of color in this society. It also allows White Americans to receive unearned benefits and privileges via White privilege. As discussed earlier, the racial reality of White America is a biased and bigoted one that ignores or distorts the history of People of Color, glorifies one group over another, and instills frightening and/or stereotypic racial images of minorities on the general populace (Guthrie, 1998; Jones, 1997). The United States is a schizophrenic society in that people have been taught that this nation was founded on basic democratic ideals of equality, justice, and inclusion. Why, we may ask, is racism such a problem in our nation? The answer lies in the fact that racism is also part of U.S. culture and probably always will be (Jones, 1997). We are continuously taught undemocratic principles and shameful values of cultural superiority and racist values, beliefs, and practices.

In some ways, cultural racism allows us to understand that everyone whether "red, yellow, black, or white" are victims of a vast socialization process that instills the biases and prejudices of society in us. Although it may be difficult for People of Color to accept, Whites are also victims. I think it safe to say that no one was born wanting to be a bigot or racist. As children, White Americans had no choice in the type of culture they were born into and they had minimal choice other than to take their place in the racial hierarchy that they occupy; that of the oppressor. For White Americans to realize that they have also been victimized in the

socialization process, however, does not excuse them from the responsibility to now take action against the unjust forces of racism.

MAKING THE "INVISIBLE" VISIBLE

If we are to overcome, or at least minimize the forces of racism, we must make Whiteness visible. As long as Whiteness remains invisible and is equated with normality and superiority, People of Color will continue to suffer from its oppressive qualities. The challenge before us is how to deconstruct Whiteness at the individual, institutional, and cultural levels. For example, when teachers admonish their Black students to leave their "cultural baggage" outside of the classroom, when Whites assert that they never owned slaves and should not be blamed for the actions of their ancestors, and when the "melting pot" is held up as an ideal, few may be able to see how the hidden forces of Whiteness have determined the reality of the actors involved in these three examples. In the first example, the teacher does not realize that he or she brings his or her Whiteness into the classroom everyday. As a result, it is the Whiteness standard unknowingly used by the teacher. In the second case, the statement may be true, but what Whites don't realize is that they still benefit from the past injustices of their forebears. In other words, the land they took from Native Americans and Japanese Americans, the vast fortunes earned from slavery, and the current socioeconomic structures of society are based on the inequities of the past. Whites are the ones who benefit from these arrangements. Last, the melting pot is a myth that promises unconditional acceptance once full assimilation and acculturation occur. For early White ethnic immigrants, this has proven to be somewhat of a reality. What is unseen, however, is that despite how Western or White a person of color becomes in attitudes and values, many doors in society will continue to be closed to him or her. The melting pot is a myth because it assumes (a) a receptive society for persons of color and (b) an equal status relationship between all groups. In that respect, it offers a catch-22 for People of Color. They are told that it is desirable to assimilate and acculturate, but, even when they do, they are denied full access to the benefits of society because they are not White.

Whiteness is very visible to many People of Color. Whiteness, however, continues to be primarily invisible to White Americans. The ultimate hope for change lies in having Whites (a) actively make "Whiteness" visible, (b) explore themselves as racial/cultural beings, (c) take responsibility for defining Whiteness in a nondefensive and nonracist manner, and (d) take antiracist actions aimed at the individual, institutional, and cultural levels (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1995). To do this, however, White Americans will have to be willing to look at themselves honestly, to con-

front the truth about themselves and the world, and to liberate themselves from the invisible cultural conditioning of a racialized society.

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PART II

Racism in Mental Health Contexts

CHAPTER 3

Institutional Racism against African Americans

Physical and Mental Health Implications

MADONNA G. CONSTANTINE

ALTHOUGH THE RACIAL and ethnic composition of our nation has been changing rapidly over the past 40 years, and although legislation such as the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have been passed to try to ensure fair treatment across races (Williams & Jackson, 2000), the historical legacy and ramifications of racism and discrimination still persist, particularly for African Americans. Profound racial disparities continue to exist across work settings, housing, income levels, and health statuses. For example, White applicants tend to be favored five times more than Black job applicants with equal qualifications, and the rate of unemployment among African Americans is often twice than that of White Americans (U.S. Government, 1998). Residential racial segregation in the 1990 census was almost equal to that of the 1968 census (Massey, 1996). In addition, the U.S. government (1998) reported that the household income of African Americans in 1996 was nearly 60% of that of White American households. Moreover, the difference between Black and White mortality rates due to heart disease, diabetes, cancer, and cirrhosis was larger in 1995 than it was in 1950 (Williams & Jackson, 2000). As a result of living for generations in a society sickened with the viruses of racism and discrimination, the physical and mental health of many African Americans has been compromised.

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Racism and discrimination have roots that undergird the history of Africans in the United States, starting with the kidnapping and torture of Africans on slave ships, generations of slavery, and the centuries of social, political, and economic subjugation that followed (Cohen & Northridge, 2000; Hollar, 2001). The heading of racism includes three specific forms that describe the sources of bias and experiences of dehumanization against African Americans and other People of Color in the United States: (1) individual racism, (2) cultural racism, and (3) institutional racism.

Individual racism refers to both the intentional and unintentional acts of discrimination that White individuals exert on others who are not members of their racial group because of their belief in their own cultural, emotional, intellectual, social, and moral superiority (C. P. Jones, 2000). Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) discussed the notion of “aversive racism,” a corollary of individual racism in which people who see themselves as non-prejudiced and who outwardly support racial equality actually discriminate against others in subtle ways, thereby revealing their hidden racial prejudices. Unlike more overt racists, aversive racists rationalize or attribute their biases to nonracial factors because social pressures stigmatize overt race-related discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001). Thus, aversive racists express racism in ways that reveal their subconscious negative attitudes toward People of Color.

A second form of racism in the United States, cultural racism (J. M. Jones & Carter, 1996), occurs when White cultural phenomena and values as reflected in art, music, religion, standards of beauty, and so forth are preferred to and held up as cultural norms relative to the cultural phenomena and values of People of Color. In cultural racism, cultural practices and norms that differ from those of Whites are minimized, erased, distorted, dismissed as fads, or pathologized (Thompson & Neville, 1999). For example, when the term *classical* modifies the word *music*, it denotes refinement and antiquity, although it is used largely in reference to historical White European music. Unlike individual racism, in which some people manifest prejudicial behavior based on the assumed inferiority of others (J. M. Jones & Carter, 1996), the sources of cultural racism can feel more amorphous to People of Color (Collier, 1999).

Acts of individual racism, such as everyday racial slurs in the workplace or being followed in a retail store, can be protected behind the veil of institutions. Institutional racism is characterized by an organized network, such as an educational system, business, or health care system, that enacts normative practices that disadvantage others based on their racial or ethnic group membership (Thompson & Neville, 1999). It includes the reflection and perpetuation of racial inequality in which the racial group assumed to be superior monopolizes access to information,

goods and services, opportunities, and power (C. P. Jones, 2000), thereby imposing restrictions on others. A workplace that passively tolerates racist slurs and jokes may function on the norm that such banter is harmless and it unwittingly may perpetuate institutional racism. In the next section, I provide specific examples of institutional racism in action, particularly with regard to the experiences of African Americans.

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM IN ACTION

General examples of present-day institutional racism against African Americans include housing discrimination, such as obstacles in home loan approvals and housing tracts (Sanders Thompson, 2002); salary and promotion denial because of biased workplace performance evaluations (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000); health care treatment inequities (Hollar, 2001; Morgan, 2002); and police practices such as racial profiling (Collier, 1999). A specific example of institutional racism can be found in the Supreme Court case related to the Affirmative Action policy at the University of Michigan (Kantrowitz & Wingert, 2003) in which White applicants contested their rejection from law school because they held that university Affirmative Action policies unfairly advantaged applicants of color, specifically African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans.¹ In this case, the White applicants/plaintiffs asserted that U.S. society was no longer racist and that Black Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans held the same opportunities as White Americans to enter prestigious institutions of higher learning. They asserted that enforcing Affirmative Action policies was equivalent to having a race-based admissions policy and was therefore unconstitutional. In effect, this case represented aversive racism at an institutional level. The plaintiffs' argument denied the facts that racist barriers to equal education historically have denied educational and employment opportunities to People of Color and that standardized admissions tests may not truly represent fair criteria on which to predict the future academic success in a field of study for many People of Color. Even in some higher education settings that do not adhere to Affirmative Action admission policies, African American students may be accused of gaining academic admission through such policies. These kinds of accusations tend to minimize or ignore (a) African American students' personal achievements and intellectual parity with their White peers and (b) the role of White privilege and, therefore, the impact of preferential treatment practices that Whites have benefited from over the course of their lives (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000).

¹ People of Asian descent often are omitted in the discussion of affirmative action due to the presumed overrepresentation of this population in academic institutions, which is ideologically founded on the model minority myth (see Wu, 2002).

Conditions such as unfair distribution of responsibilities, biased performance evaluations, differential treatment based on race, unfair salary disparities, lack of institutional support, and obstacles to promotion may lead some African Americans in the workforce to describe their environments as institutionally racist (Jeanquart-Barone & Sekaran, 1996). In employment selection decisions, race may affect how employers weigh African American applicants' qualifications when hiring decisions are ambiguous. For example, if a White American person and an African American individual have similar job qualifications, some White employers may extend latitude and preference toward the White American person and not to the African American candidate (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). African Americans who challenge institutional racism in the workplace may risk hostility, ostracism, and being labeled as aggressive, loud, or even lazy (Collier, 1999). Additionally, some African American employees may experience institutional racism by feeling pressured to indoctrinate themselves into the norms and values of an organization that are demoralizing to their own cultural norms, values, or behaviors (Jeanquart-Barone & Sekaran, 1996).

Another form of institutional racism against African Americans in the United States is housing discrimination. Housing discrimination is rooted in the (a) historical physical separation of the races and was driven by the fear of miscegenation, particularly the fear of Black men impregnating White women; (b) Whites' avoidance of social contact with Blacks; (c) maintenance of socioeconomic disparities between Whites and Blacks; and (d) overarching belief in the inferiority of Blacks relative to Whites (Williams & Collins, 2001). United efforts of real estate institutions, banks, and federal housing policies have sustained housing discrimination practices for centuries in attempts to confine working-class African Americans to destitute and chemically contaminated living conditions (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Housing discrimination also has been manifested in middle-class neighborhoods by the relocation of White families (i.e., "White flight"; Crowder, 2000). This latter behavior has reduced the tax base in many urban cities, which deprives impoverished neighborhoods of much-needed funding for social and community services to improve the quality of life for their constituents (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

Housing discrimination also can truncate education and employment opportunities for some African Americans, thereby restricting their socioeconomic mobility. Schools in financially struggling African American neighborhoods tend to have lower test scores, fewer qualified teachers, less focus on academic counseling and college-bound programming, and higher drop-out rates (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). In such segregated communities, opportunities for African American children to in-

teract with and learn from same-ethnic role models with stable employment or high academic achievement also are restricted (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM'S EFFECTS ON THE HEALTH OF BLACK AMERICANS: IMPLICATIONS FOR MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Racial disparities in health care treatment may stem from numerous institutional factors, including scientific philosophies that deny cultural and environmental factors in considering the etiologies of presenting illnesses in African Americans (Braun, 2002), geographic and socioeconomic obstacles to adequate health care (Williams & Neighbors, 2001), and health care professionals' and patients' attitudes toward treatment (LaVeist, Nickerson, & Bowie, 2000). In particular, racial disparities in the use of medical services are associated with some African Americans' general mistrust of the medical profession, much of which has been founded in the personal and historical mistreatment of African Americans by this profession. There is evidence to suggest that patients who perceive greater levels of racism and have greater distrust of the medical system tend to report less satisfaction with medical treatment (LaVeist et al., 2000). Further, racial disparities in the morbidity rates of certain conditions such as hypertension (Williams & Neighbors, 2001), diabetes, and breast cancer (Shinagawa, 2000) may be associated indirectly with African Americans' lack of trust in medical services and lack of access to adequate medical care.

Stress-induced changes in the neuroendocrine and immune systems have been considered in the explanation of links between perceived racism and the health of African Americans (McKenzie, 2003). Although racism-related life events and daily microstressors have acute effects on the health of many African Americans, transgenerationally transmitted racism-related stress also may play an important role in their overall physical health. For example, Williams and Neighbors (2001) reported that many African Americans are at increased risk for hypertension, in part due to (a) the history of racism against Black Americans; (b) emotional responses, such as anger or guilt, which may stem from anticipated racial discrimination by and feelings of suspicion toward Whites; (c) increased cardiac activity in anxious situations, such as feeling discomfort in encounters where an individual is the only person of color among White people; and (d) a sense of performance anxiety in work or school settings where African Americans are pressured to prove their competence in the face of negative expectations.

Williams and Williams-Morris (2000) reported that White people were 3 times more likely to perceive African Americans as prone to aggression,

5 times more likely to view African Americans as unintelligent, 9 times more likely to view African Americans as lazy, and 15 times more likely to perceive African Americans as being on welfare in comparison to how they saw other White individuals. Unfortunately, mental health practitioners may not be immune from carrying these biases with them into psychological settings, which may result in diagnoses that are influenced by these stereotypes. Thus, biases in the conceptualizations and definitions of mental health disorders in relation to People of Color have been factors that can contribute to racism in psychological diagnoses. For example, symptoms of paranoid thinking, such as pervasive suspicions of being harmed by strangers, colleagues, or institutions (American Psychiatric Association, 2000), which may be symptomatic of paranoid personality disorder or even schizophrenia, could actually represent legitimate and rational thoughts of African Americans who encounter racism daily in its many forms (Ridley, 2005; Solomon, 1992).

Mental health service institutions also have presented racist barriers to African Americans through the limited availability of therapists and mental health providers of color, the limited multicultural competence of available service providers, the Eurocentric values inherent in many traditional theoretical orientations and approaches to counseling, and some counselors' tendency to emphasize culturally deficit models over models of cultural strength and resilience in conceptualizing the development, experiences, and health of People of Color (Rollock & Gordon, 2000; Solomon, 1992; Whaley, 1998). For example, highly communal and collectivistic worldview value orientations, which tend to be dominant among many African Americans, may serve to underscore the roles of social support networks as coping mechanisms; however, more individualistic therapeutic philosophies may pathologize this behavior as dependent or indicative of an enmeshed, unhealthy family structure (Constantine, Myers, Kindaichi, & Moore, 2004). Furthermore, the reliance on White norms in mental health tests and assessments has assumed generalizability of White norms and standards, clouded the field's understanding of the cultural experiences of African American children, and potentially led to the misdiagnoses of mental health conditions in African American children (Dana, 2000).

Perceived racism also has been positively associated with negative emotional reactions and psychological distress. Utsey, Payne, Jackson, and Jones (2002) found that exposure to institutional and collective racism was associated with higher levels of race-related stress in African American elderly males in comparison to their female counterparts. Conditions in highly racially segregated neighborhoods and urban living conditions, such as high population turnover, exposure to crime and violence, and overcrowding, also may have negative effects on the psycholog-

ical functioning of African American children and adults (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Furthermore, for some African Americans, the internalization of racism may be manifested in (a) fratricide, (b) emotional responses such as feelings of helplessness and resignation, and (c) behavioral outcomes such as substance abuse (C. P. Jones, 2000).

If institutional racism is a salient component of the etiology and exacerbation of both physical health conditions (e.g., hypertension, asthma, heart disease, and diabetes) and mental health conditions (e.g., depression, anxiety, and substance abuse), mental health treatment necessitates addressing pathological institutions as well as validating and empowering clients (Akinbami et al., 2002; Thompson & Neville, 1999). Following are five suggested strategies to help mental health practitioners address the effects of institutional racism in the lives of African American clients:

1. Mental health professionals interacting with African American clients may need to assess the degree of cultural mistrust of these clients with regard to receiving mental health treatment, along with potential institutional barriers of given treatment facilities themselves. This includes consideration of treatment costs, insurance limitations on treatment, geographic location, racial and ethnic composition of the staff, and whether agency mental health treatment models are founded on racist assumptions.
2. As a corollary to the first strategy, mental health professionals need to be cognizant of social norms that reflect aversive racism through color-blind attitudes that may obfuscate institutional biases (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). This may encourage their commitment to challenging institutional policies that perpetuate racial biases in treatment.
3. Mental health professionals should validate African American clients' experiences of institutional racism when clients present for treatment with such concerns. Passive dismissal or overquestioning the validity of clients' experiences with regard to this phenomenon (e.g., doubting the veracity of clients' perspectives about a racial incident) might extend the experience of institutional racism to the psychological setting.
4. The effects of repeated exposure to institutional racism and racism-related stress are not uniform across all African Americans. The assumption of monolithic victimization by institutional racism denies the strengths, resilience, and diversity of experiences in the African American community and may perpetuate deficit approaches to understanding and working with African American clients. Thus, when considering the effects of racism-related stressors for these clients, it is

imperative that mental health professionals identify the types of coping strategies their African American clients might be using or could use with regard to addressing institutional racism in their lives, and that they encourage these clients to explore the advantages and ramifications of using these coping mechanisms in their lives.

5. Outside of their offices, mental health professionals could address racist and oppressive societal systems through their involvement in community-based social justice initiatives. This may include public advocacy for racial parity in education systems, consultation with businesses that are struggling to hire and promote African Americans into positions of power, and involvement with organizations that lobby against housing discrimination.

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CHAPTER 4

The Intersection of Racism and Immigration

Implications for Educational and Counseling Practice

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THE UNITED STATES has been shaped, enriched, and transformed by successive waves of immigrants over the past several centuries. With the exception of Native Americans, all Americans are either recent immigrants or the descendants of immigrants who have moved, voluntarily or involuntarily, and for a variety of reasons (i.e., economic, political, or familial), from all over the world. In some metropolitan areas of the country, the number of recent immigrants is significant, such as Miami Dade County, where it is estimated that 51% of the population is foreign born (Malone, Baluja, Costanzo, & Davis, 2003). It is perhaps not an overstatement to describe the United States as a nation of immigrants, where individuals of various nationalities, races, cultures, and religions live together (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue 2004; Krug, 1976). Although our diversity is in some ways what defines us, the question about whether our racial, ethnic, and cultural identities should be melted down to reflect a uniform set of American values, as is implied by the “melting pot” metaphor, has remained a focal point of public debate. The struggle to create a balance between a shared national identity and an identity that is characterized by social diversity has been manifested, for instance, in debates over affirmative action policies and bilingual, bicultural, or multicultural education (Spring, 1994).

The resistance and animosity of native-born Americans toward new immigrants is often driven by the fear of losing jobs to new immigrants, as well as the concern that the influx of immigrants may lower the standard of living and threaten existing political and social relations. Due to differences in customs, language, and religious and cultural practices, today's immigrants serve as easily visible scapegoats for a host of economic, political, and social concerns and are subject to prejudice and discrimination (National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, 2001).

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: First, to discuss and examine the complex nature of racism against immigrants in general, and in educational and counseling contexts in particular; second, to offer education and counseling professionals with implications that promote ethical and effective practice. The present chapter rests on three assumptions that are in need of clarification.

First, we operate under the assumption that all immigrants, regardless of race and ethnicity, share the experience of acculturation, which can be taxing, as they often have to cope with stress associated with the practical, linguistic, and cultural challenges of adapting to a new physical and sociocultural surrounding. We also believe that for immigrants of color, the cultural adjustment process is a particularly daunting task because of the additional challenge of confronting racism that permeates American life at the institutional, cultural, and individual levels. In the current American society, assumptions and stereotypes—implicit or explicit—about one another are often regulated by racial factors.

Second, we assume that an understanding of the interface of racism and immigration cannot be achieved without due attention to the impact of social-political, both historical and contemporary, contexts. Despite the significant contributions of generations of immigrants to a productive and prosperous U.S. society, public opinion, which reflects the social-political context, has often been ambivalent, if not negative or hostile with regard to immigration. Following the September 11, 2001 (9/11, hereafter) terrorist attacks, as well as the Iraq War launched in 2003, there has been increased suspicion and mistrust among Americans of foreigners. Like native-born Americans, immigrants of color also worry about terrorism, but they worry both about becoming victims of terrorism and victims of racial discrimination stemming from current anti-foreign and anti-immigrant attitudes. There is some evidence to suggest that the experience of prejudice, discrimination, and violence among South Asian and Arab immigrants has increased in frequency and intensity as a result of the public concern about terrorisms in general, and militant Islam in particular (Atkinson et al., 2004). The experiences of Arab immigrants post 9/11 provides us with a current example of the strong connection between contextual changes and immigrants' experience of racism.

Effective professional practice also requires a certain degree of understanding of the various sociopolitical forces and other individual and contextual factors that impact the experience of immigrants. An understanding of immigration policy is crucial because these policies not only shape the development of a society's identity but also impact the welfare of economic classes and organized groups (Fitzgerald, 1996).

Our third assumption is that race is a socially constructed variable, which serves to perpetuate between-group disparities (Helms & Cook, 1999). In the same way that race and ethnicity are confounded in this country by history and by the use of dichotomous pseudophysical distinctions to rationalize acts of colonization and racial slavery (Zuberi, 2001), racism and the immigrant experience are inextricably linked. Racism, according to Ridley (2005), refers to a "behavior or pattern of behavior that tends to systemically deny access to opportunities and privileges to members of another racial group" (p. 28). This chapter uses his definition of racism to examine the intersection of racism and immigration at the institutional and cultural level, as well as at the individual level, in accordance with the distinctions made by Jones (1997). *Institutional racism* occurs when laws, policies, and customs are created to sustain the superior political and economical status of a racial group. *Cultural racism* is the devaluation and destruction of the culture of one racial group by another racial group. Finally, *individual racism* implies acts of racism by one person against another.

The remainder of the chapter is comprised of four main sections. The first section describes immigrant experiences in contemporary U.S. society. In the next two sections, we present an overview of the intersection of racism and immigration at institutional, cultural, and individual levels, followed by a discussion of their implications for the education and mental health professions. At the institutional and cultural level, we explore the ways in which racism influences immigration policy, education policy, and the acculturation experiences of today's immigrants. At the individual level, we examine how the interface of racism and immigration may be manifested in the contexts of educational and counseling practice. This chapter concludes with a case vignette, followed by some closing comments.

TODAY'S IMMIGRANTS

Between 1990 and 2000, the foreign-born population in this country increased from 19.8 million to 31.1 million individuals—the highest number of immigrants in history (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). This dramatic growth rate is paralleled in the immigrant child population where it is estimated that, in recent years, the number of immigrant children has

grown approximately seven times faster than the number of children to American-born families. The most recent census indicates that approximately one out of every five children under the age of 18 living in the United States today is an immigrant or a child of an immigrant parent (Hernandez & Charney, 1998).

As a result of contemporary immigration, the United States is experiencing the most dramatic demographic transformation in 100 years (Rumbaut, 2001). Today's immigrants are rapidly changing the racial and ethnic landscape of the United States (National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, 2001). With the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, new distinctions were made between "old" and "new" immigrants, with White Europeans being identified as the "old" and non-White persons from countries all around the world being classified as the "new" immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990).

Today's new immigrants are primarily from non-European and non-English speaking areas of the developing world and are considered "People of Color" and "Children of Color" (C. Suarez-Orozco, 2000). More specifically, of the population of foreign-born persons, over half is from Latin America and more than one quarter is from Asia with the top three sending countries being Mexico, China, and the Philippines. On arrival, more than half of the immigrant population resides in three states: California, New York, and Texas (Malone et al., 2003).

DIVERSITY OF TODAY'S IMMIGRANTS

Today's immigrants are a diverse group of individuals differing in many ways beyond their country of origin. It has been shown that in today's recent immigrant group, both the highest and lowest rates of education, self-employment, home ownership, poverty, welfare dependency, and fertility are represented (Rumbaut, 2001). Among today's immigrant group, there is a large group of highly educated, highly skilled workers, who are more likely to have advanced degrees, and have come here for further career and educational opportunities. These immigrants are among the best educated in the United States, finding themselves overrepresented in the category of individuals with graduate degrees. In 1999, for example, all of the American Nobel Prize winners were immigrants (M. M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Not all immigrants come to this country with high levels of educational preparedness, however. There are a sizable number of immigrants who arrive here with little education, few skills, and no documentation, which can significantly impact their experiences in the United States. According to most recent census estimates, more than 22% of new immigrants had less than a ninth grade school education. Many of these immigrants are from Latin America and, on arrival, take poorly paying

jobs and settle in neighborhoods stricken with poverty and crime (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Even from a cursory review of recent demographic information regarding today's immigrant group, it is clear that the educational status and needs of this group are varied.

Immigrants also come to this country under various political or social circumstances. Some immigrants make their journey to this country voluntarily, others move here as refugees from their country of origin to escape political instability, violence, or war, and still others immigrate against their will (e.g., early forced migration of Africans). Distinctions between refugees and independent immigrants are critical because they call attention to possible variations in preimmigration, resettlement, and familial separation experiences, as well as potential differences in their exposure to trauma (Fazel & Stein, 2003; Nicholl & Thompson, 2004).

Refugees are often exposed to and victims of violence. Preimmigration experiences of trauma, such as exposure to violence and socioeconomic deprivation, can have a severe negative impact on the health and well-being of refugees (Fazel & Stein, 2003). There is evidence to suggest that individuals who have had preimmigration experiences of trauma may be at heightened risk for developing health and mental health problems and as a result may need specific interventions (Nicholl & Thompson, 2004).

ACCULTURATION AND ACCULTURATIVE STRESS

As a resocialization process, acculturation involves changes in identification, attitudes, values, and social skills and behaviors that individuals, singly or as a group, undergo when they come in contact with another culture (Atkinson et al., 2004; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). There is consensus that acculturation refers to changes at three levels of functioning (Berry, 2003; Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzalez, 1995): behavioral (e.g., participation in cultural activities, language use), affective (e.g., attitudes toward one's cultural identification), and cognitive (e.g., culture-specific knowledge as well as values, attitudes, and beliefs about gender roles). During the process of minority adaptation to the dominant United States culture, change in each of these areas can be expected.

Once immigrants arrive, a number of factors singly and jointly contribute to the complex process of acculturation and impact the levels of acculturative stress that immigrants and their families experience. These factors include, but are not limited to, English language skills (Bhattacharya, 2000), socioeconomic resources (Kazemipur & Hulli, 2001), number of years since immigration (Kim, Atkinson, & Umemoto, 2001), and the sociopolitical context of the receiving community (C. Suarez-Orozco & M. M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Skilled or professional immigrants, for instance, may move to the United States because of their

unique professional skills and competence, and they have the option of moving back to their country of birth. Their level of acculturation stress may thus be much lower than that of undocumented immigrants who arrive here with limited resources. For immigrant children, the acculturation experience is no less complex and largely dependent on contextual factors, such as access to a cultural enclave or social capital (R. M. Lee, 2005; Portes, 1998), school and community climate, and family factors (Wong, 2004). It should be noted that children tend to adapt more quickly than their parents, thus potentially creating an “acculturation gap” (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002).

In the acculturation process, immigrants may also experience discrimination due to their race, their immigrant status, or both, which, coupled with the stress associated with acculturation, can have a negative impact on their physical and psychological health (Moghaddam, Taylor, Ditto, Jacobs, & Bianchi, 2002). The experience of racism also affects levels of acculturative stress and impacts the educational experiences of immigrant students. For adolescent immigrants, who are at a developmental stage of exploring their own identity, the experience of racism compromises a sense of pride in their culture of origin and may limit their aspirations and achievements (Yeh et al., 2003).

INTERSECTION OF RACISM AND IMMIGRATION

In contrast to earlier overly simplistic immigration models that neglect the centrality of race, more recent scholarship regarding the immigration experience has begun to pay more attention to the critical role race plays in the adaptation of immigrants (Kilty, 2003; Sanchez, 1999). Institutional and cultural racism significantly impact the immigrant experience at multiple interacting levels. In the following section, we first examine the way in which racism impacts immigration policy, which determines who is allowed entry and who is granted citizenship. Next, we examine the intersection between institutional racism and education policy, which directly influences the educational experiences of immigrant children.

RACISM AND IMMIGRATION POLICY

Racism informs immigration policy, which shapes immigration patterns, and thus impacts the culture, demography, economy, and the politics of the nation (Myers, 2001). Immigration policy and practice in this country have historically been and continue to be driven by institutionalized racism (Kilty, 2003; National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, 2001). The meaning of being an American citizen has revolved around the

question of race and has been defined, in large part, by the denial of citizenship to non-Whites living in the country (Roberts, 1997; Sanchez, 1999) and the denial of entry to non-Whites from other countries (Kposowa, 2000; E. Lee, 2002). Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact time in history when racial groups began to have social meaning in terms of access to power, some historians believe that it was not until the West African slave trade began in the middle of the fifteenth century that White skin became socially valuable as a symbol of group membership. The White identity, at this point in time, was defined solely by White's attitudes toward non-Whites and nothing more (Malcomson, 2000).

The various White ethnic groups that immigrated before the 1900s came to be known as Americans, noting their superiority relative to non-White immigrant groups or hyphenated Americans (Helms & Cook, 1999). Immigration policy facilitated this racial hierarchy in power and in level of belongingness between racial groups where American citizenship came to be equated with Whiteness (Sanchez, 1999), and since the founding of the Republic, a consistent feature of U.S. immigration laws has been ethnic and racial discrimination (Kposowa, 2000). To preserve a White national identity, America's first naturalization law, passed in 1790, reserved citizenship for Whites only (Roberts, 1997). This use of immigration policy to support and maintain a White American cultural identity can be seen throughout history.

With each wave of new immigrants, America's racial and ethnic demographics shifted and became increasingly diverse, which resulted in an endangerment of the White national identity. In response to this threat, immigration policies that focused on who was allowed entry into the country became restrictive. During the early part of the nineteenth century, for example, with the need for cheap labor, the increasing numbers of Asian immigrants were initially welcomed. As the number of Asian immigrants became increasingly visible, however, hostility and resentment toward this group flourished, resulting in exclusionary immigration policies (Kilty, 2003). One of the first major restrictions on American immigration came in 1882 with the Chinese Exclusion Act. This law excluded Chinese entry into the United States for 10 years (Daniels, 1997). Furthermore, in 1924, Congress passed an immigration restriction act, altered in the 1970s and again in 1991, limiting the number of future immigrants from a formula based on the number of immigrants from each country that were already residing in the United States (Leahey, 2000). This national origins quota system rationalized the favoritism of immigrants from northwestern Europe over immigrants from other countries. During this era, gatekeeping became the norm and Americans began to define themselves on the basis of racial exclusion (E. Lee, 2002).

Although history provides us with many examples of racist immigration policies, current immigration policies reflect the nativism and racism of the past (Kilty, 2003). Furthermore, it also appears that immigration practice is indicative of racist attitudes. According to a National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR; 2001) report, racism is visible in the application of immigration laws, noting the evidence that immigrants from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean are more often detained, deported, and denied legal status and protection.

In a time when America is becoming increasingly diverse with respect to race, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and sexual orientation, previous strategies to define the American "self" as different from "other" need to be replaced with other methods. Changes in the racial compilation of the nation are more than skin deep, and reflect changes in the cultural, economic, and political character of the nation. They are transformations in the nation's identity, which call for the defining of a different "we" (Fitzgerald, 1996).

RACISM AND THE EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Educational success is increasingly important with the development of a global economy and the internationalization of the labor force. In the American's competitive workplace, most of the well-paid jobs with potential for upward mobility are reserved for individuals who have more than a high school degree (Spring, 1994). Persistent racial disparities in educational outcomes have been observed in the areas of grade, test scores, retention and dropout rates, graduation rates, identification for special and gifted programs, extracurricular and co-curricular involvement, and in discipline rates (Mickelson, 2003). Although a number of theories have been proposed to account for the racial gap in academic achievement, it has been argued that institutionalized racism plays a critical role in creating and perpetuating racial disparities in education (Mickelson, 2003).

The deleterious effects of racial discrimination on the education of minority children are increasingly becoming the focus of leaders of both domestic and international education policy. One of the specific areas of concern that was targeted during the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, was the impact of racial discrimination on the children of minorities and those of migrant workers in education. The *Report of the Secretary General* (Pizarro, 2000) on this topic emphasizes that racial discrimination in education can manifest itself in education policy or in individual acts of teachers, administrators, peers, or other school personnel. The report also describes how racial discrimination in education can be overt, with education policy that actively discriminates against certain groups of children, or

covert, with the failure of education leaders to take action to change policy that is racist. According to Mickelson (2003), the existence of systematic disparities in educational achievement that fall on racial lines and that endure time suggests that the school system engages in institutionalized discrimination.

With regard to the educational success of immigrant children in particular, the *Report of the Secretary General* also asserts that education policy that focuses on the assimilation of immigrant children into the majority culture is one of the most harmful forms of racial discrimination and can result in the denial of the rights to culture, education, and the freedom of expression (Pizarro, 2000). The elimination of bilingual language programs in the state of California in 1997 with Proposition 227 represents education policy with an agenda of assimilation. With this new legislation, teachers were mandated to “immerse” second-language learners in an English-only environment (C. Suarez-Orozco & M. M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Beyond active assimilation practices in schools, the report also acknowledges the negative impact of education curricula that overemphasizes the majority culture, history, and language.

The eligibility of documented and undocumented immigrants to education, health, and mental health services has been and continues to be a source of fierce debate. An examination of the history of American education suggests that the educational response in the United States to the needs of immigrant youth has been inconsistent, often influenced and complicated by shifting changes in social and economic conditions, public sentiments, court decisions, and political power (Spring, 1994). A socio-historical analysis of the educational experience of Hispanic immigrants, voluntary versus involuntary, in the United States has focused on how their opportunities for economical and social success were related to shifting changes of public support and policies (Ogbu, 1988; Ogbu & Matute-Bianci, 1986). This inconsistency in public view about the educational needs of immigrant youth is also reflected in the struggle and debates over issues about bilingual, bicultural, or multicultural education programs. Advocates of these programs argue that, while differing in goals and focus, they help reduce racial, ethnic, and social frictions in the United States. Critics, however, contend that these programs reflect a trend of multiculturalism that is a step away from a more classical, nationalist approach to teaching and learning (Hirsch, 1999). In this view, these programs undermine the efforts to maintain English as the dominant language, as well as to establish a national identity that reflects American values.

A prime example of legislation that rests on a social pattern of racial and ethnic exclusion is California's 1994 Proposition 187, which denied most state services to illegal immigrants (M. M. Suarez-Orozco, 1996).

With the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which emphasizes rigorous academic standards and curriculums to ensure that students have the skills needed for college or for better-paying jobs, funding and school personnel decisions are increasingly influenced by standardized test scores, which serve as a measure of student achievement, teacher performance, and school success. Schools with a high percentage of immigrant students, responding to the external pressure for success, may resort to tracking—the practice of sorting on the basis of achievement and ability. Tracking has been criticized for its contribution to racial stratification and the perpetuation of individual prejudice against students with low standardized test scores through indiscriminate use of labels of “limited English proficiency” and “at risk” (Katz, 1999).

INDIVIDUAL RACISM AND IMMIGRATION

The literature on major types of discrimination (e.g., sexism, racism, and ageism) suggests that blatant forms of racism have decreased during recent decades and are replaced with more subtle, covert, and clandestine acts of discrimination against racial minorities, particularly at the individual level (Atkinson et al., 2004; Enns, 2000). The findings that emerge from the social cognition research literature indicate that bias is a problem not because it is deliberate, but because it is the outcome of assumptions of which we are not consciously mindful (Langer, 1989). The persistence of racial prejudice and discrimination by children is well documented (e.g., Aboud & Doyle, 1993; C. Suarez-Orozco & M. M. Suarez-Orozco, 2001). There is also ample evidence to suggest that immigrant students of color perceive racial discrimination and harassment as a common problem at school (e.g., Phan, 2003; Traoré, 2004). Discriminatory actions and practices by peers are typically overt and blatant, including teasing, name-calling, and negative attitudes or comments about their race, ethnicity, accents, English language skills, or physical appearance. Individual racism displayed by teachers and staff, in contrast, is more covert and subtle. Examples of the subtle forms of racism of school personnel may be, among others, their lack of interest in immigrant students’ learning (e.g., lack of interaction, communication, providing little assistance or support, and few assignments) or stereotyped views of immigrant students as gang members or drug users. As a result of the stereotype that all Asian American students are good at math and science, counselors may provide their Asian immigrant clients with a narrower range of career options or may give them information in certain fields without a careful assessment of their interests and academic skills.

As immigrant students adjust to the educational system in the United States, they face many obstacles to their school success, such as linguistic

constraints and cultural factors (Fuligni, 1998; Olsen, 1997). In experiences with social acclimation to school, immigrant students may be sensitive to cues that their parents, peers, and teachers give them about their potential and possibilities for success. Similarly, teachers' assumptions and stereotypes about each immigrant group (positive or negative) would influence teachers' behaviors as well as their treatment of immigrant students. When teachers perceive immigrant students as having inferior academic skills or lacking aspiration for their success and achievement, they may provide less support and assistance to these students. This dynamic, in turn, shapes students' expectations of themselves and their academic performance (Muller, 1998). Immigrant students thus internalize the racism they experience and perceive themselves as lacking the same potential and skills as their American-born counterparts, which often results in their "acting White" or denying aspects of their immigrant identity (Atkinson et al., 2004). In a study that examined the tensions in the relationships between Hispanic immigrant youth and their teachers, Katz (1999) found that the students perceived teachers' racial discrimination against them as one main reason for their disengagement from school and lack of interest in learning from these teachers.

Immigrant students' experiences of discrimination by their teachers and peers adversely affect their school experience and adjustment indirectly, through its detrimental effects on self-esteem, ethnic identification, and psychological and physical health (Finch, Hummer, Kolody, & Vega, 2001; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004; Rumbaut, 1994). When school administrators and educators are incompetent or slow to address immigrant students' needs associated with the acculturation experience, discrimination is even more problematic (Chen, Blumberg, Austin, & Choi-Misailidis, 2001). Constantine and Gushue (2003), for example, found that racism attitudes were associated with school counselors' overlooking the role of racial and cultural factors in conceptualizing the mental health concerns of immigrant students. Discrimination, and racism in particular, contributes to immigrant youths' self-perception as outsiders in the host country, thus limiting opportunities to enhance their self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986), namely to experience themselves as resourceful or efficacious enough to overcome barriers, minimizing their potential for academic, occupational, and social success (McWhirter, 1997; Werkuyten & Nekuee, 1999).

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL AND COUNSELING PRACTITIONERS

As the United States population becomes more demographically diverse, the need for major reforms in the distribution of wealth and power will be

more evident. For all Americans to thrive in this new era, major changes in the fabric of society—the institutions that guide the sociopolitical *Zeitgeist*—are required. In addition, because many counselors and psychologists work in education, business, government, and community settings, they are in a unique position to advocate for institutional changes required for the United States to become a more inclusive democracy (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001). D'Andrea and Daniels point out that despite mental health professionals' role as social change agents, many of these professionals are ill equipped to confront and challenge the status quo. In their view, psychology, like other fields, is entrenched in the legacy of ethnocentricity, oppression, and racism, and, as a consequence, major changes are required in the discipline for future professionals to be able to contribute to these major sociopolitical changes. The training of educators or mental health professionals, for example, should include preparation for their role as advocates for social and political change.

Given that the most recent census estimated that one out of five persons is an immigrant or a child of an immigrant family, educators and mental health providers need to develop the competence necessary to work with such a diverse population (American Psychological Association, 2003; Constantine & Gushue, 2003). Next, we outline three overarching principles to promote both ethical *and* effective practice, on one hand, and to help address various forms of individual racism against immigrants, on the other.

First, educators and counselors need to be attentive to the within-group differences present within and among immigrant groups. In discussing ways to eliminate racism, Brewer and Miller (1988) contend that our stereotypes and biases about others may be changed as a result of changes in attitudes toward a particular group as a whole following positive interactions and through increased awareness of complexity and heterogeneity within and across racial groups.

As Kluckhohn and Murray (1953) and Leong (1996) have long argued, not only does one's identity occur and change at human, group, and personal levels, but also the relative salience of one's identity may shift in differing contexts as well. It is incumbent on educators and counselors to examine (a) characteristics immigrant students or clients share with all human beings (e.g., the need for competence, human level); (b) those that are specific to them (e.g., experiencing suspicion or mistrust), as well as any other sociocultural groups to which the client may belong, such as racial or religious groups (group level); and (c) those that are unique to them as individuals (e.g., a unique outlook on life, personal level). In the educational context, awareness of individual and within-group differences may translate into careful examination of differences in, among

others, learning styles, goal orientation, interests, and academic skills among immigrant students. In the counseling context, the counselor may assess one's identity at these three levels through, among others, an examination of beliefs and values central to cultural, social, and personal schemas (Ibrahim, Roysircar-Sodowsky, & Ohnishi, 2001) or an inquiry of immigrants' preferred terms for self-identification or descriptors acceptable to them.

Given the great number of factors that potentially contribute to the cultural adjustment process, professionals need to recognize the great disparity in experience of this diverse group of immigrants. In the counseling context, counselors' stereotypes, biases, and unwarranted assumptions about their clients would result in ineffective, if not harmful, counseling outcomes, as evidenced in research findings that school counselors without prior multicultural training had higher rates of racism attitudes (Constantine & Gushue, 2003). Awareness, knowledge, and reflection of within-group heterogeneity among immigrants are an important hallmark of multicultural competence and serve as a safeguard against any biases or distorted views that often occur in the presence of complexities, uncertainties, and ambiguities of counseling encounters between two individuals across sociocultural divides (Chen, 2001). As Pope and Vasquez (1998) point out, mental health providers need to avoid the trap of overgeneralization, which entails either an overreliance or underreliance on the role of culture in accounting for psychological difficulties in counseling:

On the one hand, the clinician must become adequately knowledgeable and respectful of the client's relevant cultural or socioeconomic contexts. Therapists who ignore cultural values, attitudes, and behaviors different from their own deprive themselves of crucial information and may tend to impose their own worldview and assumptions upon clients in an exceptionally fallacious and destructive manner. On the other hand, the clinician must avoid making simplistic, unfounded assumptions on the basis of cultural or socioeconomic contexts. Knowledge about cultural and socioeconomic contexts becomes the basis for informed inquiry rather than the illusion of uniform group characteristics with which to stereotype the client. Neither variation between groups nor within groups can be discounted or ignored. (p. 210)

Second, we advocate for a shift in perspective, toward immigrant resilience and coping (Espin, 1995; Wong, 2004) and away from emphasis on "deficits." At the core of individual racism toward immigrants is often an unwarranted assumption that there exist "deficiencies" in the immigrant group with respect to, for example, their cultural values. This judgment is usually made against the standards of a normative group, namely

the White, middle-class, U.S. society (Enns, 2000). This deficit bias also extends to the mental health field as reflected in the psychological and counseling research where minority individuals are often studied with respect to deficits, challenges, or maladaptive behaviors. Similarly, in reference to the vocational behavior literature, Richardson (1993) notes middle-class assumptions and biases underlying current career development theories. More specifically, she argues that "career" is a concept that reflects an emphasis on defining one's identity through the lens of individual achievement and Protestant work ethic, which may or may not be consistent with the experience of individuals across racial or cultural divides.

Immigrant families have demonstrated their resilience in the face of adversity through developing resourceful coping strategies, such as acquiring a wealth of information about the dominant culture and learning a new language, to overcome barriers and challenges rather than accept the erosion of their self-esteem and the dampening of human spirit. Despite their perceived discrimination, the resilience of immigrant students is also evident in their negotiation of two cultures without sacrificing their identification with either culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Yeh et al., 2003). Immigrant students may learn to negotiate the different expectations and issues concerning gender inequities or respect versus assertiveness in the home or school contexts. Asian immigrant students, for example, may become more assertive at school and in American society to fit in, but less so at home because assertiveness may be experienced as disrespect by their parents (Wong, 2004).

Third, it is helpful to incorporate a systems perspective (Foster & Gorman, 1985) of immigrant behavior in the educational and counseling contexts. According to Minuchin (1974), the behaviors and roles of family members are interdependent because they are regulated by implicit and unspoken rules in the family system that strive toward a stability of functioning or a dynamic state of equilibrium. As such, a fair degree of consistency of individual behaviors in and outside the family unit can be expected. Immigrant families, particularly during the early stage of the acculturation process, experience high levels of stress as a result of the family's need to function in a healthy way through mobilizing their resources to meet demands, both internal and external, at multiple levels simultaneously. The behaviors, issues, and needs of students in schools or counseling can best be understood when placed in the immigrant family context (Garanzini, 1995). Because there exist varying rates of acculturation between generations in the immigrant family (Farver et al., 2002), the psychological orientations and behaviors of individuals who are many generations removed from immigration differ, gradually and

significantly, from those of recent immigrants, particularly in the degree to which immigrant heritage is retained and valued as part of their identity (Kim & Abreu, 2001). Consequently, the immigrant family with varying acculturation levels may clash over issues such as degrees of independence, dating, and marriage (Wong, 2004). A systemic interpretation and reframing of behaviors allows educators and counselors to understand and appreciate the vulnerabilities and resilience of immigrant students and their families. Parental support may also be utilized to promote immigrant students' school adjustment by alleviating effects of perceived racism and by enhancing their racial identity (Liebkind et al., 2004).

Case Vignette

Aafreen is a 12-year-old girl from Pakistan who lives with her biological mother, father, and younger brother in a two-bedroom government-subsidized apartment located in the metropolitan Northeast. Being the oldest and the most proficient in English, she is responsible for translating for her mother and father during school meetings and, as she describes it, other family business. Aafreen's family is Muslim and moderately religious. Aafreen wears traditional clothing to school and will not eat many of the foods from the school cafeteria for religious reasons. Her family attends a local temple but does not go on a regular basis because of her father's work schedule.

Although Aafreen's father moved to the United States 6 years ago, Aafreen, her brother Alij, and her mother just immigrated and reunited with their father 5 months ago. During the 6 years that Aafreen's father lived in the United States, she only saw him on two occasions for very short visits. Aafreen's father worked long hours in his cousin's jewelry store and then worked at night delivering pizzas for a neighborhood pizza shop. After 5 years, he had saved up enough money for his family to move to the United States; however, because he had to wait for immigration documents, it took almost another year before his family could eventually join him.

Aafreen is in the sixth grade and attends a medium-size public school that is within walking distance from her family's apartment. Although Aafreen's school district reports over 30% immigrant families, there are few other students from Pakistan in her school. Although the school has a number of language programs, such as a small Korean-bilingual class and an English as a second language (ESL) program, the student population is predominantly White and native born.

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, some of America's public schools and communities experienced a strain in interracial and intercultural relations. Aafreen was referred for individual counseling in the spring of 2002 after some of her teachers noted a dramatic shift in her behavior. Aafreen began to withdraw from her teachers and school life and found herself in the shadow of her peers. Aafreen's ESL teacher was particularly concerned and worried that she might be suffering from some type of depression. She noted that before the spring semester, Aafreen was an above average student who received mostly As and Bs on her report cards and was now barely making Cs. In addition, Aafreen was often seen by herself during free time periods.

Aafreen's school counselor began to meet with Aafreen and another girl, Yolanda, on a weekly basis for supportive pair counseling. In their first meeting, Aafreen and Yolanda, who were in different classes, described being teased by some of the other sixth grade girls in the cafeteria. When asked to describe how that felt, Yolanda, whose family was from Mexico, said, "I'm used to it now because they've been teasing me like that since I was in kindergarten. I don't care now." Aafreen said, "Well, I just got here 6 months ago so it really hurts my feelings." Then, with a huge smile on her face, Aafreen said with some excitement, "But maybe . . . one day, I'll get used to it too!"

REFLECTIVE QUESTIONS

- What assumptions do you have about Aafreen? How do you examine whether they are warranted?
- What are some strategies for you to assess Aafreen's identity at human, group, and personal levels?
- How might you assess the vulnerability and resilience of Aafreen and her family?
- What are some ways in which you can engage Aafreen's family and facilitate the acculturation process for the whole family system?
- What possible interventions might you implement that could both adequately meet Aafreen's individual needs and at the same time make systemic changes to her school environment?
- How might you in your role as a counselor effectively meet the needs of Aafreen and Yolanda while providing support for the acculturation process for two individuals with such different acculturation pathways?
- How might you engage in social policy efforts in the school context?

CONCLUSION

The complex interplay between immigration status and racism defies facile solution, just as it evades easy description. Individual racial discrimination against immigrant students may be linked to, promoted, or perpetuated by the structural conditions and the pressure from the administrators in the school. We echo Katz's (1999) view that "exposing and confronting individual racist attitudes is certainly a necessary step toward change. Yet this process must be accompanied by exposing and confronting racist institutions as well" (p. 813). The amount of social power awarded to educational and mental health professionals as experts continues today, and a high degree of caution needs to be exercised in our practice with immigrants.

Aside from their teaching or counseling roles, educators and counselors share the same social responsibility to engage themselves in other helper roles such as consultant, change agent, and social advocate to help bring about improving educational, economic, social, and legal conditions necessary to enhance the well-being of immigrants and their families (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 2004; Sciarra, 2001). We thus assume a social responsibility to instill a critical consciousness among the powerless as well as the powerful and privileged (Blustein et al., 2005). The quest to eradicate racism experienced by immigrants cannot succeed without due attention to the interaction between the needs of immigrants, on one hand, and the responsiveness of the receiving country, on the other, against the backdrop of particular circumstances or issues in the society at large and in the context of a global integration in the twenty-first century (Liebkind et al., 2004; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

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CHAPTER 5

Linking Poverty, Classism, and Racism in Mental Health

Overcoming Barriers to Multicultural Competency

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AMONG MULTICULTURALISTS, LINKING poverty, classism, and racism may appear intuitive. Certainly, the cultural and social forces that perpetuate inequality based on skin color and phenotype are similar to those forces inhabiting economic inequities. Although on the surface these “-isms” are connected, complex associations between poverty, classism, and racism are difficult to discern. Therefore, the focus of this chapter is fourfold. First, the authors discuss the historical roots of the Protestant work ethic (PWE), capitalism, and citizenship and their relation to poverty, classism, and racism. Second, the authors focus on psychology’s attention to social class and classism, and elements of the social class worldview model (SCWM; Liu, 2001, 2002; Liu, Ali, et al., 2004; Liu, Soleck, Hopps, Dunston, & Pickett, 2004) are presented. Third, case vignettes illustrate the use of social class and classism in therapy. Finally, recommendations for mental health professionals to further understand their social class worldview are provided. This chapter only focuses on classism and poverty issues in the context of the United States, but the authors recognize that issues of inequality are global and some elements of this discussion may be applicable toward that discourse.

SOCIOHISTORICAL ROOTS OF
POVERTY, CLASSISM, AND RACISM

Recent census estimates show wide social class gaps depending on racial group. The median household income for Whites was approximately \$46,000 in 2003. African Americans tended to have the lowest median household income at approximately \$30,000 (Census Bureau, 2004). Hispanic households had a median income of \$33,000, and Asian American household median income was at about \$55,000. The poverty threshold, for a family of four, was approximately \$17,761 (Census Bureau, 2001). The percentage of Whites in poverty in 2003 was approximately 11%; for African Americans it was 24.4%; for Asian Americans it was 11.8%; and among Hispanics it was 22.5% (Census Bureau, 2004). Among those in poverty, poor families typically had approximately \$6,687 in deficit or debt they needed to clear before moving out of poverty (Census Bureau, 2000). For the total population, the 2000 census also shows 80% of the U.S. population has a high school degree, and 24% have a bachelor's degree (Census Bureau, 2003). This statistic is important to note because Liu, Ali, et al. (2004) have argued that much of the psychological research is premised on college-aged groups, and findings from these studies may not be applicable to the vast majority of the American population. These demographic differences also suggest long-standing inequalities that potentially create conditions for psychopathology and maladjustment. Therefore, providing context for our understanding of social class, classism, poverty, and racism is important.

The roots of poverty, classism, and racism are linked to the sociopolitical (e.g., the unequal distribution of power), sociohistorical (e.g., biased and inaccurate histories of peoples), and sociostructural (e.g., legal, education, and economic systems) forces that marginalize and oppress (Liu & Ali, 2005). Poverty, classism, and economic/resource inequality are not merely unfortunate consequences of American capitalism, but integral to the "healthy" functioning of the American economy. Zinn (1991) suggests that, for instance, the founders and authors of the U.S. Constitution were fully cognizant of the divide between the poor and rich, Black and White. Their motivation was to retain privilege and wealth for those who had it (i.e., land-owning wealthy White men). Dissent and protest related to growing poverty and crippling debt was suppressed. The founders believed a Christian God ordained riches through providence to those who worked hard. This privilege was codified among only a certain group of powerful men to ensure their continued power. Built into this assumption that the rich were a result of God's ordination and hard work was the belief that wealth and poverty were natural aspects of human society. As-

suming richness and poorness were natural consequences occurred without regard and acknowledgment of family wealth and privilege passed through multiple generations (Zinn, 1991). As generations of the privileged sought and gained access to power and resources (e.g., government subsidies, tax waivers, and special access) due merely to their status, the division between rich and poor grew. In effect, the rich gained momentum while the poor stagnated. Yet, the great myth that occluded this stratification was the notion of meritocracy; hard work was the remedy for poverty. This myth, the belief that inequality was natural, was the “false consciousness” Marx and Engels (1848/1968) postulated as a barrier the impoverished needed to discard so that true equality could be created.

Another aspect that was afforded Whites, but denied to African, Asian, Latino, and Native Americans early in American history was the currency assigned to White skin (Harris, 1993). In America, masculinity, Whiteness, and citizenship have been so conflated and propertied (i.e., Whiteness was given value as a type of social commodity) that the two are often assumed to be one entity (Harris, 1993; Jacobson, 1998). Thus, Whiteness often represents what is ideally an American—the White middle-class man (Kimmel, 1996).

The White man existed, and still exists, in privilege because his *color*, *citizenship*, and *manhood* were synonymous terms that were codified in legislation. Whiteness and citizenship was imbued with value and currency (Harris, 1993; Jacobson, 1998), and it determined who could own property and who would be property (Jacobson, 1998; Lowe, 1996). Whiteness was so important to define that the American legal system went through several contortions to restrict White privileges to a select group of land-owning aristocrats (Pope-Davis & Liu, 1998; Thandeka, 1999). For instance, in *Ozawa v. United States* (1922) the Supreme Court agreed that, even though a Japanese man had “white-looking” skin, he was not of the “Caucasian” race and therefore not “White” (Ancheta, 1998). A year later in *United States v. Thind* (1923), the Supreme Court further refined the meaning of “White” by stating that, even though Thind was racially “Caucasoid,” he did not meet the common understanding of a “White” person (i.e., Aryan features and culture; Ancheta, 1998). These two court cases proved that Whiteness and its privileges (i.e., citizenship) had to be protected against non-Whites. The early founding fathers were aware of this need, and as early as 1790, citizenship was being restricted to only White males (Ancheta, 1998). And although African Americans were given the semblance of citizenship years later, Asian Americans were denied these rights until the mid-1900s (Ancheta, 1998; Lowe, 1996). As a result, early America was likened more to a racialized plutocracy than a democracy (Thandeka, 1999).

One prominent ideology that naturalized inequality was the Protestant work ethic (PWE). Weber (1904, 1905) coined the term, and posited the founder of PWE to be John Calvin, who believed working was a duty for all persons. Work was a means to transform the earth to reflect a Christian God's vision (Braude, 1975). Idleness was a form of evil, and work (i.e., manual labor) was idealized. For psychologists, attitudinal concepts such as the PWE, which is defined as the "degree to which individuals place work at or near the center of their lives" (Mudrack, 1997, p. 217), have been associated with an individual's expectations and perception of career barriers, and potentially, their willingness to persevere. In PWE, work is perceived to be a positive attribute, whereas leisure activities are regarded suspiciously; those who endorse PWE are likely to structure their time toward work and be purposeful, not procrastinate, be punctual, delay gratification for long-term gains, and be type-A personalities (Mudrack, 1997). The Protestant work ethic is related to persistence at work tasks regardless of monotony and repetitiveness, not relaxing, regarding long commutes as a normative and an accepted part of the work day, working to the end of a given time allotment rather than quitting a task early (Greenberg, 1977, 1978; Merrens & Garrett, 1975), and promoting achievement, endurance, willpower, self-discipline, and order; but it is negatively associated with impulsivity and autonomy (Mirels & Darland, 1990).

Related to PWE may be a belief in a just world (BJW), which "is the tendency of people to blame victims of misfortunes for their own fate" (Furnham & Procter, 1989, p. 365). In BJW, people believe others get what they deserve because the world is orderly, stable, and somewhat predictable. Thus, people are poor because they are lazy (Mudrack, 1997). Belief in a just world may also be related to middle-class values of delayed gratification. Lerner and Miller (1978) suggested that, without endorsing this belief people would not be able to "commit himself [sic] to the pursuit of long range goals or even to the socially regulated behavior of day to day life" (p. 1030). Researchers using the BJW construct have found relationships with PWE ranging from .21 ($p < .01$; Wagstaff, 1984), attitudes toward poverty .30 ($p < .01$; Smith & Green, 1984), and personal income .21 ($p < .05$; Smith & Green, 1984). Furnham and Procter (1989) suggest that BJW's relationship to PWE is no surprise because PWE suggests hard work and personal asceticism are needed to achieve prosperity (Furnham, 1989; Mirels & Garrett, 1971).

The Protestant work ethic is an important ideology in our conceptualization of classism and inequality. The Protestant work ethic underscores the attribution of poverty to internal dispositions rather than structural disparities, and PWE may help individual's justify their prejudice and

discriminatory behavior to those in poverty. Because there is a higher percentage of African Americans and Latinos living in poverty, this racism is difficult to tease apart from classist attitudes. The major drawback from current psychological research is that social class and classism are not directly identified as constructs, but rather tangentially implied through concepts such as PWE and BJW.

PSYCHOLOGY'S ATTENTION TO SOCIAL CLASS AND CLASSISM

Although social class and classism are identified as important cultural aspects, counseling and psychology have difficulty operationalizing and integrating these constructs (Brown, Fukunaga, Umemoto, & Wicker, 1996; Frable, 1997; Liu, Ali, et al., 2004). First, there is no definite difference between *social class* and *socioeconomic status* (SES), and in much of the literature, these terms are used interchangeably (Liu, Ali, et al., 2004). Second, counseling and psychology have borrowed sociology's convention of using income, education, and occupation to classify people into "classes" without recognizing potential within-group variation or that these indices are not well correlated (Liberatos, Link, & Kelsey, 1988). Research on the various indices suggests each may be associated with different outcomes (Liberatos et al., 1988). For instance, research suggests education is the most frequently used and reported social class indicator (G. J. Duncan & Magnuson, 2003; Ensminger & Fothergill, 2003) and is related to parenting beliefs, lifestyles, knowledge, and cultural tastes (Liberatos et al., 1988). Education is stable across adulthood (Bornstein, Hahn, Suwalsky, & Haynes, 2003) but economic return for a level of education does vary by gender, race, and age (Krieger, Williams, & Moss, 1997; Liberatos et al., 1988). For men, educational levels are good predictors of occupations (Gottfried, 1985; Gottfried, Gottfried, Bathurst, Guerin, & Parramore, 2003). Occupation, another objective index, is easily obtained, and reflects a person's skills, education level, and prestige and is usually stable in adulthood (Bornstein et al., 2003). But prestige is difficult to measure because it varies over time and between genders (Berkman & Macintyre, 1997). For instance, women's occupations are usually less prestigious and pay less than men's occupations (Crompton, 1993; Entwisle & Astone, 1994). Finally, income is notoriously difficult to measure because of short-term variation and volatility (G. J. Duncan & Magnuson, 2003), and people may not report income accurately because it is deemed sensitive and personal information (Entwisle & Astone, 1994). Moreover, income has an effect gradient that may have a greater impact on the development and lives of the poor than on those who are not poor (Mistry,

Biesanz, Taylor, Burchinal, & Cox, 2004). In other words, increasing income to all levels of the population has different effects depending on where the individual starts.

Croizet and Claire (1998) demonstrated that asking questions about income may actually induce feelings of classism among those individuals who come from low-income backgrounds, and consequently, feelings of classism may depress their performance on various outcome tests. G. J. Duncan and Magnuson (2003) concur and posit that people, when asked about income, are reluctant to provide accurate answers because they believe this to be private. Education and occupation are not likely to produce the same resistance (G. J. Duncan & Magnuson, 2003). But if inaccuracies arise from one of three indices used to determine social class, the classification of individuals may not be the best approach to using social class in research.

Third, beyond using the objective indices to determine social class, researchers may also use measures designed to categorize individuals into social classes based on a certain combination of objective indices. Currently, the two most popular measures of social class used in psychological (Ensminger & Fothergill, 2003) and counseling psychology research (Liu, Ali, et al., 2004) are the Hollingshead Four-Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975) and the Duncan's Socioeconomic Index (O. D. Duncan, 1961). Both instruments are examples of composite measures or instruments that assess for a variety of social class indicators that produce a single index of social class. But Oakes and Rossi (2003) critique both measures as limited in their validity because both are premised on old census data (e.g., 1950 or 1970 census data), which call into question the occupational prestige scores, or have not been published in peer-reviewed journals (e.g., Hollingshead, 1975; Oakes & Rossi, 2003). Because there is no one best measure for social class (e.g., Hollingshead Four-Factor Index; Liberatos et al., 1988), researchers may need to consider multiple criteria when selecting a measure.

Although problems exist in the use of objective social class indices, some researchers have suggested that the use of subjective indicators instead of, or along side of, objective indicators of social class may help illuminate within-group social class experiences (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000; Goodman et al., 2001; Ostrove, Adler, Kuppermann, & Washington, 2000; Singh-Manoux, Adler, & Marmot, 2003). Subjective social class indicators simply ask the participant to identify a social class or status position that best reflects his or her self-perception. For instance, Goodman et al. (2001) used a subjective social class question that presented two 10-rung ladders to participants and asked them to consider the ladder as a representation of society wherein the top reflected those

“who were best off” (p. 3) and at the bottom, those “who were worst off” (p. 8). On one ladder, participants indicated their family status, and on the second, they indicated where they would place themselves. Results showed that the questions had good reliability (.73 to .79, respectively), and that the subjective social class questions were good predictors of adolescent health. Goodman et al. (2001) suggested a subjective social class measure may be sensitive to developmental changes and socialization occurring with certain populations, whereas objective indicators may not be as sensitive.

Using a similar subjective social class measure, Goodman et al. (2000) found that, among a cohort of working-class and upper middle-class White 16-year-olds, there was a significant tendency for working-class adolescents to rank themselves in a higher social class, whereas those in the upper social class tended to correctly identify themselves as such. Goodman et al. (2000) posited that, among working-class youths, social mobility is an important ideology that motivates them toward achievement, whereas upper middle-class youths did not believe they needed to move higher in the social hierarchy.

Subjective social class allows for clinicians to examine the potential within-group variability and individual phenomenological experiences in a particular social class. A subjective approach also allows clients to determine the relative value and meaningfulness of income, education, occupation, or any other social class construct such as material objects of lifestyle choice. Finally, a subjective approach opens the discussion to the way classism impacts the individual and how the individual may also participate in classism—a major limitation of the stratification approach.

LINKING POVERTY, CLASSISM, AND RACISM

Although space limitations preclude a full review of social class, poverty, classism, and racism, empirical literature exists to make a significant link between structural inequality (e.g., poverty) and differential effects on various racial ethnic groups. Specifically, poverty has had the most detrimental affects on People of Color (i.e., African, Asian, Latino, and Native Americans), and mental health professionals need to be aware of some of these consequences.

Research suggests, not only do poor adults experience worse clinical services than nonpoor adults (Sutton & Kessler, 1986), but poor children, especially African American children may receive differential diagnoses. Kendall and Hatton (2002) posit that research and diagnoses of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), for example, are premised on White, middle-class children, and African American children’s ADHD

symptoms are viewed as a result of poor parenting, low IQ, substance abuse, poverty, and violence. Similarly, Gottfredson (2004) argues that poor health among those living in poverty is less a consequence of access to health care, income, or health insurance than a matter of intelligence. Gottfredson did not take into account the research suggesting low-income individuals tend to have lower perceived control over their lives and that this lower perceived control over one's life was related to poorer health, less life satisfaction, and higher depressive symptoms (Lachman & Weaver, 1998). Lachman and Weaver also found that, regardless of income level, those who perceived higher mastery over one's life and perceived fewer barriers, were likely to report less depression, higher life satisfaction, and better health.

Poverty, classism, and racism also form the tripartite relationship needed to create environmental racism—a situation that has detrimental health effects for People of Color (Baugh, 1991; Bullard, 1993). Communities of color, mostly African Americans and Latinos face problems related to increased cardiovascular diseases (CVD; Winkleby, Kraemer, Ahn, & Varady, 1998), undernutrition, lack of immunizations, and exposure to lead and other toxins (Evans, 2004; Tanner & Finn-Stevenson, 2002). For instance, research has found fast-food restaurants are overrepresented in low-income African American and Latino neighborhoods, and this environmental situation may lead to increased obesity rates and CVD in these communities (Block, Scribner, & DeSalvo, 2004). The aggregate effect of these health problems are poorer health and cognitive impairment, underdevelopment, and increased morbidity.

In Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn's (2004) study of 588 African American and Latino children, they found that moving out of high poverty areas had a significant positive affect on academic achievement scores. Carter (2003) found that low-income African American youths struggled to negotiate what was considered cultural and African American and what was considered White and upper class. Other researchers have also found that an individual's shifting from one social class (i.e., lower-class) to an upper-class environment or situation often struggled in their personal identity and their support networks (Granfield, 1991; Grella, 1990). This is an important consideration because shifting social class groups entails not only a change in worldview and personal identity but also social networks and support. Jeopardizing these social networks may be more important to those who are poor than those who are rich (Lin, 1999) because the rich have multiple horizontal networks in the same social class group, whereas the poor may have limited social class networks in higher social class groups. In effect, the social class momentum of those in high social class groups means more resilience to threats of downward mobility and more opportunities to maintain their current social class status.

But overall, the research suggests a move out of poverty may have prophylactic results on psychiatric disorders such as conduct and oppositional defiant disorder (Costello, Compton, Keeler, & Angold, 2003). So movement away from these toxic environments usually has positive outcomes for some people. Remaining in these impoverished situations typically means that individuals are more likely to be victims of violence or to live in violent neighborhoods (Byrne, Resnick, Kilpatrick, Best, & Saunders, 1999; Ingram, Corning, & Schmidt, 1996). Although violent environments and poverty may not be directly related to violent behavior by an individual, research suggests environmental stressors create stress and conflict in families, which increase the propensity for violence by the individual (Paschall & Hubbard, 1998).

There are strong associations between poverty, classism, and racism, although much of the research is descriptive and, consequently, absent the nuances necessary for clinicians. Although impoverishment, racism, and marginalization are intellectually understandable, how do clinicians make sense of these issues? What are clinicians to do when faced with the complexities of classism and racism from a client? How would one use social-class informed therapy? The following sections focus on a subjective approach to social class and classism and use case vignettes for illustration.

SOCIAL CLASS WORLDVIEW

Given the lack of theory linking social class and classism (Oakes & Rossi, 2003), Liu (2001) and Liu, Soleck, et al. (2004) attempted to construct a model of social class and classism called the social class worldview model (SCWM). Space limitations preclude a full discussion of the model, but aspects of the model relevant for this chapter are discussed. The SCWM posits people live in economic cultures (EC) that place demands and expectations on all individuals. These expectations set forth values and norms to which individuals must subscribe to remain congruent with others in that particular EC. For instance, the SCWM posits there are multiple middle-class cultures in the United States, and each middle-class EC varies in its focus on materialism, lifestyle considerations, and social class behaviors, to name a few. Individuals living in Chicago, Illinois, may differ in these aforementioned aspects from those living in Kansas City, Missouri, even though individuals in both cities have the same income, education level, and occupation.

Based on the premise of multiple ECs and varying demands and expectations, the SCWM posits individuals will vary in classism. Lott (2002) defined classism as unearned privilege, dominance, and power. But Liu, Soleck, et al. (2004) suggest that there are various forms of classism and that individuals are not classist in all aspects of their lives but are classist

in specific ways that are relevant to their EC. Some may be classist, for instance, around material objects, whereas others are classist around lifestyle considerations (e.g., vacations). Classism becomes a function of the EC in which a person resides.

For Liu, Soleck, et al. (2004), there are four forms of classism that operate as a web of prejudice and marginalization and create macro- and microlevel aggressions toward people, with the aggregate effect of perpetuating marginalization and oppression. First, downward classism is simply those who are in perceived higher classes marginalize those in perceived lower classes. One pernicious form of downward classism relevant for mental health professionals is the upward mobility bias. This bias assumes that people are always motivated toward upward social mobility; that higher levels of education, income, and occupation are primary concerns; and that eschewing these values is considered deviant. For example, Sutton and Kessler (1986) surveyed 242 clinical psychologists and found that the poorest prognosis was for clients described in the lower working-class groups, and participants in this study were reluctant to work with these pseudoclients. Second, there is upward classism wherein those in perceived lower classes regard those in perceived higher classes as snobs and elitists. Third, there is lateral classism wherein individuals feel classism from peers in a similar social class. Lateral classism is akin to “keeping up with the Joneses” but, in this case, the Joneses keep reminding you to keep up. Finally, there is internalized classism. This form of classism erupts when an individual feels she or he is unable to maintain her or his social class. The individual experiences anxiety, frustration, anger, and depression as a result of her or his failure to maintain a social class. Liu (2001) speculates that American capitalism and material society is premised on the constant fluctuation of homeostasis and internalized classism. At times, people feel comfortable but eventually some need is created and linked to a purchase. Consumption is theoretically tied to self-image and self-esteem and the ability of the individual to be at the same level as others in his or her defined peer and cohort group.

For some counselors, the information provided so far is contextual and is meant to educate. This historical, sociological, and psychological research sets the foundation for application of social class into clinical settings. To illustrate an application of the SCWM, two case vignettes are provided.

CASE VIGNETTE 1: MARIA SANCHEZ

Client Introduction and Descriptive Information

Maria Sanchez is a 30-year-old Catholic, Mexican American, widowed female. Her family immigrated to California when she was 12 and she currently resides in a Mexican American neighborhood in Los Angeles. Her husband passed away 3 years ago

and she was left to care for her two children, Juan (age 6) and Selma (age 4). He had worked for a local advertising company and was the primary financial provider for the family. Maria obtained a bachelor's in early childhood education in hopes of becoming a teacher but soon married after graduating college and family and cultural pressures forced her to stay at home.

After her husband's death, she experienced a change in her social class. Most of her husband's income went toward paying off debts, leaving Maria with barely anything. She could no longer afford to live in her suburban neighborhood and was forced to move out. She currently rents a small one-bedroom apartment in an inner city neighborhood. Her closest family lives 5 hours away and is unable to aid her financially. Her husband's family still lives in Mexico and they too depended on her husband for financial help.

Presenting Concerns

Maria is going through a difficult transitory period and is struggling with episodes of depression. The combined stressors of supporting her children, loss of her husband, and rebuilding her life have taken a toll on her. She has been on government assistance (e.g., welfare and food stamps) since her husband's death and has been trying to make ends meet by working part-time and doing odd jobs. Maria is only able to work a limited number of hours because she has no one to help take care of her children and she is unable to meet their monthly expenses. Her social support system consists of her best friend and sister-in-law who live 2 to 3 hours away. They have suggested she seek mental health services at her local community mental health center.

Maria has actively been searching for jobs in her specialty area. Her job interviews have not resulted in anything positive, even when she applies for jobs for which she exceeds the qualifications. She feels her accent and indigenous looks have a negative impact on her job interviews. Her financial situation makes it difficult to afford expensive interview clothes that she notices other applicants wearing. She feels she is being discriminated against because of her social class status, ethnic background, and being a single mother. She also notices adverse reactions when she asks about childcare facilities/benefits.

Maria feels guilty about not being a good mother to her children and constantly worries about finding employment and supporting her children. Her neighbors feel that she should stay home and look after her children or move back in with her family. Her family would prefer she move in with them for the children's sake; however, they are not overtly pressuring her. Maria would rather stay in the city for her children's education and the opportunities that would be available to her children. She is conflicted about whether to move or stay in the city.

Summary of Therapy

Maria's counselor at the community mental health center was a White, middle-aged, middle-class male. He endorsed the "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" mentality (i.e., upward mobility bias) and suggested Maria was not trying hard enough to better her financial situation. The counselor applauded her educational achievements and encouraged her to enroll in community college classes to update her skills.

Classes would help her refresh her skills and make her more marketable for jobs. He ignored possible discrimination that was occurring in Maria's search for employment because of her ethnicity and social class status. He told her she needed to search more diligently and be willing to accept a job with a lower salary and fewer benefits, and suggested she would benefit from moving back in with her family to provide her more financial support and to focus on her career. Maria terminated counseling after three sessions.

Critique

Theme 1: False Assumption of Lower Class Status

The counselor was insensitive to cultural and environmental factors affecting Maria and held false beliefs about Mexican Americans clients belonging to a lower social class. His assumptions are apparent as he proceeds to "blame the victim" rather than acknowledge the contextual factors influencing her current condition.

Theme 2: Victim Blaming

Rather than acknowledging and addressing the role of discriminatory factors in Maria's search for employment or validating her concerns the counselor tells Maria to work harder. The counselor assumes that Maria is not putting in enough effort during her interviews and is turning down perfectly good job offers.

Theme 3: Present Time Focused versus Upward Class Mobility

The counselor also assumes Maria's goal is upward social class mobility and ignores that she is looking for immediate problem-solving strategies that provide relief from the numerous stressors she faces.

An Alternative Scenario

Principle 1: Empathy and Normalization

The counselor could have established a better therapeutic alliance with Maria. Empathy would have provided much needed support and understanding. The counselor could normalize her situation by acknowledging the racism and discrimination she encountered. For example, the counselor could provide her with other examples of job discrimination faced by minorities. Being empathic would help validate Maria's experiences and build a strong therapeutic alliance.

Principle 2: Problem-Solving Strategies

Maria is adjusting to a new social class environment and her immediate concerns are the welfare of her children. Counseling can provide her with problem-solving strategies to meet these needs. For example, the counselor can work with her to budget her monthly income so that she does not go into debt by the end of the month. The counselor can also encourage Maria to utilize local community services designed to help families in need. These could include after-school community programs for children at the local library or community center and programs that provide low-income women with business clothes for jobs and job interviews.

Principle 3: Self-Care Activities

The therapeutic relationship can focus on the client's self-care needs once her immediate concerns have been addressed. Maria should process the loss of her husband, adjust to her new social class, and learn to engage in self-care activities. Addressing these concerns prior to resolving her worries about providing for her children will lead to more distress and premature termination of the therapeutic relationship. In Maria's hierarchy of needs, her self-care needs are secondary to her primary needs of providing food and shelter for herself and her children, ensuring that the bills get paid on time, and securing a permanent means of income. Once these needs have been met she will be able to redirect attention to her own emotional well-being.

CASE VIGNETTE 2: DAVID TAYLOR

Client Introduction and Descriptive Information

David Taylor is a 20-year-old, White, heterosexual male, sophomore, attending a large Midwestern university. He is from a small rural town 2 hours from the university. The university is composed of predominately White, middle-class students from the suburbs of a nearby metropolitan city. He has three younger siblings and his parents have been married for 20 years. After high school, his father began work at an automotive factory outside of their hometown. The plant closed when David was 4 years old and his father became unemployed for 2 years until taking a job as a truck driver. David's mother left high school her junior year to help run her family's farm and she currently works the check-out at the town's local grocery store. David describes his family as "barely getting by" financially. He reports being in school against his parent's wishes for him to stay home and help the family. He is the first person in his family to attend college and is one of only 4 students from a graduating class of 47 who pursued higher education. He received a baseball scholarship that covers his university tuition and expenses.

Presenting Concerns

David presented with concerns about his study skills and described things as "more than I can handle." He reported difficulty managing his course load with baseball practice and weekend tournaments. He also disclosed not enjoying baseball as much as he thought he would, but feels he cannot quit because his sports scholarship pays for his schooling. Additionally, he reported sleeping through morning classes almost every day. His counseling goals were to work on time management and study skills.

Summary of Therapy

David saw a counselor at the university's counseling center. The counselor was a 36-year-old middle-class Asian American female. After the first session, she

assigned him psychoeducational homework for time management and study skills. She recommended he buy a personal digital assistant (PDA) at the union bookstore to manage his schedule more efficiently. At the end of his second session, David mentioned some players on the baseball team had been making fun of his last name by calling him "Taylor trash" and reported it did not bother him much and was "pretty stupid really." He received a citation for underage alcohol consumption the night before his fourth session and by the fifth session he reported feeling frustrated because he was still struggling with baseball practice and his studies. He disclosed his concern about whether he was "cut out for college." His counselor suggested to him "college is not for everyone" and recommended he consider if he needed or wanted a college education. David agreed with the counselor and decided to reconsider his educational plans. He no-showed for his sixth session and did not respond to contact from the counseling center and therapy was terminated.

Critique

Theme 1: False Assumption of Lower Class Status

David's counselor treated his presenting concerns as she would most other students with academic concerns. For example, she recommended keeping a schedule on a PDA and was not culturally sensitive to his financial difficulties or comfort with computerized devices. He experienced struggles similar to those faced by many students of color on campus, but his problems went unacknowledged because the counselor perceived him as part of the White majority. She therefore treated his concerns as she would most other White students who came to the counseling center.

David's social class background created more stress to his college experience than that experienced by his middle-class peers. He was constantly ridiculed by his teammates for being "White trash." These hurtful and marginalizing remarks and attitudes caused him daily discomfort during baseball practice. He felt alone and unaccepted by his primary social group. He became depressed and was drinking excessive amounts of alcohol every night to cope with his "unacceptable" feelings of sadness and helplessness. He started skipping classes because of constant hangovers and began experiencing feelings of depression that made it even more difficult for him to attend classes. David presented with study and time management concerns and was slow to reveal his real feelings because disclosures made him feel weak and less "manly." He had alluded to his concerns throughout therapy, but the counselor was insensitive to these culturally based concerns rooted in his social class background.

Theme 2: Victim Blaming

The counselor assumed David might not be ready for college after learning about his underage consumption of alcohol citation, continual truancy, and frustrations with school and suggested he reevaluate his decision to attend the university. In critique, David's counselor did not consider or assess environmental factors he was facing due to his unique cultural background.

Theme 3: Present Time Focus versus Upward Class Mobility

The counselor was able to work with David's presenting concern, but she failed to explore other possible sources of distress. He was experiencing overt classist prejudice and discrimination from his peers that may have led to internalized feelings of classism. His frustrations, possible depressive symptoms, and poor coping strategies (e.g., drinking) may be in response to internalized feelings of classism. David could not engage in the same activities of his friends or buy the right clothes because of financial constraints. Ultimately, David could not meet the social class demands placed on him by his higher social classed peers and he developed a negative self-concept and poor self-esteem.

Alternative Scenario

Principle 1: Empathy and Normalization

Providing empathy and support for David's marginalizing experiences may have increased his comfort with disclosing his related depression and drinking habits. The counselor could have been more deliberate about her suggestion that "college is not for everyone" because of David's unique social class background. He has received different messages regarding higher education than most of his peers. His family, high school, town, and greater media culture disregard college aspirations for those considered "White trash." The counselor's suggestion that David "drop out" reaffirms the beliefs in his greater environment. Instead, she could have empathized with his school struggles and recommended tutoring or other study aids.

Principle 2: Problem-Solving Strategies

David's counselor could have first assessed hidden concerns regarding gender and social class in her conceptualization of the client's academic concerns. She could have suggested the use of less expensive scheduling tools as well as the PDA when recommending a schedule. Furthermore, she could have taken measures to alleviate the harassment David and others face at the university. The counselor could offer diversity training programs to dorms, campus groups, and athletic teams, which include social class concerns. Multiple levels of empathy and support would likely facilitate a positive experience for David in therapy and school.

Principle 3: Self-Care Activities

The counselor could have provided several suggestions that would enable David to develop beneficial self-care activities. He could have explored other groups or organizations on campus that shared similar hobbies or interests. He might also join organizations that make him feel more empowered. He could have looked into a local social or political organization that shared similar socioeconomic concerns, thus providing him with the belief that he has the ability to adapt and possibly change his situation. Finally, David could devise more appropriate coping strategies, such as developing personal relationships where he could express his feelings or using his frustration or feelings of hurt as motivation to succeed in school or on the baseball field. The use of self-care activities is vital if David is going to successfully adapt to this situation.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Integrating social class and classism into therapy is new because no theory prior to the SCWM helped clinicians make sense of their own social class worldview lens and classism. Understanding social class is given greater importance as a multicultural competency because its connection with other forms of oppression (e.g., racism) is integral. In this chapter, the authors provided a sociohistorical approach to understanding inequality, privilege, and classism. Readers are given some factual information and a heuristic to comprehend their own social class worldview. The authors suggest it is important to understand the various forms of classism that operate and the clinician's own contributions to classism.

Clinicians should also be aware of other facets of classism that may operate in their practice. Helms and Cook (1999) suggest people tend not to talk about race and racism directly but rather through symbolic terms such as *affirmative action* and *welfare* to refer to African Americans. Similar terms may be used to refer to People of Color. For instance, *low-income*, *impoverished*, *welfare*, or *at risk* are often terms associated with People of Color. Moreover, *White trash*, *hillbilly*, *redneck*, and *trailer-trash* are used to identify poor Whites (Liu & Pope-Davis, 2003; Lott, 2002). By not focusing specifically on race, racism, social class, and classism, these terms remain unconscious and unexamined biases for the mental health professional that may impact the therapeutic relationship. Clinicians also need to be aware of their own countertransference or reactions to working with the poor (Javier & Herron, 2002). Some of these countertransference reactions may blame the poor choices of the individual for his or her current impoverishment or disregard the contextual issues related to society such as economic inequality and joblessness. Lott (2002) argues that these negative countertransference reactions are forms of cognitive distancing from the poor that clinicians need to be aware of and combat.

Clinicians may also need to consider that social class, classism, and racism intersect to compound cultural mistrust and expectations of therapy. Clients may perceive clinicians to be "in power" and acquiesce to the needs and expectations of the clinician. Consequently, clients may not tell clinicians if impasses or ruptures in the therapy alliance occur (Liu & Pope-Davis, 2005). Furthermore, clinicians may need to provide structure and direction to therapy and help clients understand the process and pace of therapy.

Finally, creating mental health services also entails more than opening a clinic. In establishing services for the poor, clinicians need to consider those in poverty may need help with transportation and day care to help individuals participate in therapy and medication (Miranda et al., 2003).

Clinicians may need to consider the idea of bringing therapy to the client rather than the client to therapy (Liu, in press).

In reading this chapter, it is hoped that readers will come away with a good understanding of how social class, classism, poverty, and racism intersect in the lives of clients. Previously, this had been an examined area in multicultural competency research, theory, and practice. The form and function of classism, especially in the lives of People of Color, may manifest in multiple ways, and unless the clinician is aware of how social class is meaningful in the lives of clients, therapy may not be effective. The SCWM provides one way in which clinicians may integrate social class into their therapy and inform their practice. Connecting the SCWM with our understanding of racial identity and acculturation, for instance, gives clinicians a clearer profile of the client and may demonstrate to the client that the clinician is empathic and knowledgeable.

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CHAPTER 6

Intersections of Sexism and Heterosexism with Racism

Therapeutic Implications

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When I picketed for Welfare Mothers' Rights, and against the enforced sterilization of young Blackgirls, when I fought institutionalized racism in the New York City schools, I was a Black Lesbian. But you did not know it because we did not identify ourselves, so now you can say that Black Lesbians and Gay men have nothing to do with the struggles of the Black Nation.

Audre Lorde (1985, p. 10)

Identity is not a bunch of little cubbyholes stuffed respectively with intellect, race, sex, class, vocation, gender. Identity is a river—a process. Contained within the river is its identity, and it needs to flow, to change, to stay a river.

Gloria Anzáldua (1998, p. 267)

CONSIDER THE QUESTION: "What is gay America?" When most individuals are asked to respond, many of the images that likely come to mind are predominantly male and/or White/European American. In the mental health professions, great strides have been made in recent decades to identify specific competencies needed to work effectively with People of Color and lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people (e.g., American Psychological Association, 2003). Although these guidelines identify critical areas of potential bias and needed skills about which mental health

professionals must learn, little information is available regarding competencies needed to work effectively with LGB People of Color, particularly regarding the impact that racism, sexism, and heterosexism may have on this population.

The current chapter represents a work in progress regarding therapeutic implications to consider when working with LGB People of Color. Given that theory and research on this topic area are still at a beginning stage, we recognize that many of our suggestions arise from our own and others' professional experiences that have only begun to be made part of the public discourse on racism and oppression. We first summarize existing literature and research concerning the impact of racism, sexism, and heterosexism, and their intersections for LGB People of Color. We then highlight therapeutic issues and potential barriers to consider that may arise from these intersections for clients as well as for mental health professionals. In discussing these issues, we acknowledge that issues of racism, sexism, and heterosexism likely affect individuals differentially, depending on factors such as racial/cultural group membership, acculturation/assimilation, available social support from family and important others, and economic and other resources (Bridges, Selvidge, & Matthews, 2003). Further, we recognize that oppressive experiences based on race, gender, and sexual orientation may be differentially salient over the life span. According to Robinson (1999), mental health professionals can help clients deconstruct and change the meanings of their oppressive experiences such that positive identities based on these experiences may be meaningfully constructed. By doing so, we hope that LGB People of Color may become empowered by who they are rather than disempowered by who they are not (Wilson, 1996, as cited in Garrett & Barret, 2003).

IMPACT OF RACISM, SEXISM, AND HETEROSEXISM

Racism, sexism, and heterosexism are all pervasive forces in the United States, affecting many levels of our society: individuals, families, communities, and institutions. The impact of these forms of social oppression is insidious in our society and in people's lives, particularly for those who ascribe to and identify with nonmajority group memberships. Each form of social oppression may be overt or covert, conscious or unconscious, and intentional or unintentional. Although each "-ism" is present in our society, not all individuals experience them in a conscious way, although most people are affected by them in various ways. The following three

sections discuss each form of social oppression generally and then discuss how they specifically affect LGB People of Color.

RACISM

Although racism touches the lives of White/European Americans, the effects of racism often are considered detrimental to the lives of People of Color (Tinsley-Jones, 2003). Racism has been described and defined by many theorists (e.g., J. Jones, 1972). However, for the purpose of this chapter, the following definitions will be used: (a) "a system of cultural, institutional, and personal values, beliefs, and actions in which individuals or groups are put at a disadvantage based on ethnic or racial characteristics" (Tinsley-Jones, 2001, p. 573); and (b) "through the exercise of power against a racial group as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture" (J. Jones, 1972, p. 172).

There are important aspects of these definitions that require elaboration relative to their impact on LGB People of Color. Racism is a systemic and dynamic force that disempowers one group by defining them as inferior, thereby affording another group power and superiority; racism is supported through intentional or unintentional collusion by the entire society. Although racism may be expressed in blatant or overt ways, there are many forms of covert racism as well (Tinsley-Jones, 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996). Covert racism is often difficult to identify, making its effects more insidious and resistant to change.

Many theorists and authors have described the harmful effects of racism (Akbar, 1991; Freire, 1970; Ridley, 1995). Blatant expressions of racism may be experienced personally, such as being referred to in a derogatory way (Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999) or institutionally, such as having limited access to material conditions (e.g., housing, gainful employment) or access to power (e.g., information, media; C. P. Jones, 2000). Covert and unintentional racism may be invisible, but they may be experienced as stressful events (Tinsley-Jones, 2003). Each instance of a racist event serves to denigrate and disempower People of Color; moreover, a "racist event" does not occur in isolation or in a vacuum, but rather operates within and across large "social contexts where people interact with one another" (Ridley, 1995, p. 29).

As People of Color continue to be exposed to racist events, many take in and internalize aspects of racism (Tinsley-Jones, 2003). Internalized racism refers to an acceptance of negative messages about one's own abilities and intrinsic worth (C. P. Jones, 2000), and may occur not only at the

personal level, but also at the familial, community, societal, and institutional levels (Tinsley-Jones, 2003). Lesbian, gay, and bisexual People of Color may experience and internalize racism at all these levels, which in turn may affect aspects of their sense of self, self-concept, and overall psychological well-being. For example, racism affects individuals' interactions with others, their interpretation of dispositional and situational events, and their perceptions of abilities, beauty, intelligence, and personal worth. In addition, racism affects LGB People of Color's perceptions of their status, worth, and salience of their other group identities (e.g., gender or sexual orientation).

The effects of racism and internalized racism also may be evidenced in the therapeutic milieu. The fields of counseling and psychology are replete with racial/cultural biases, often due to the focus on individual or universal explanations of human behavior (Constantine, Myers, Kindaichi, & Moore, 2004; Sue & Sue, 2003). Additionally, the mental health professions are grounded in Eurocentric beliefs and value systems (Katz, 1985); thus, yardsticks used to measure behavior are primarily anchored in belief systems that have historically ignored issues of racial and other types of oppression (Ridley, 1995). A Eurocentric viewpoint or "ideology" obscures the uniqueness of the individual client and, thus, overlooks relevant and salient factors to consider in clinical judgment and decision making. Specifically, if clients do not "match" their counselors' perceptions of "normalcy," they may be viewed as flawed or as manifesting pathological traits and characteristics.

Fassinger and Richie (1997) proposed that nonconscious ideologies are infused in the mental health professions because various forms of oppression are inextricably connected to negative stereotypes, attitudes, and beliefs in the larger society. Mental health professionals must be aware that frameworks, theories, and models of mental health that are used as standards of good practice also are rooted in oppression. Mental health professionals must engage in careful consideration of the ways in which any one mental health model perpetuates unintentional racism and make adaptations to these models when working with LGB clients of color (Ridley, 1995). Adaptations of traditional mental health models may involve therapists' appreciating that individuals in respective cultures learn language, belief systems, social roles, and appropriate behavior differently than that of a Eurocentric cultural system. Appropriate assessment techniques would include gathering data related to these factors and then interpreting them from individuals' indigenous cultural norms (Castillo, 1997).

Effective treatment and intervention may incorporate multiple interpretations of the definition of what it means to be "mentally healthy."

Mental health professionals can assist LGB clients of color discover and learn ways of developing a positive sense of connectedness with their racial or cultural group and social identity. Therapy goals might focus on ways to validate their clients' chosen racial/cultural identity to facilitate healthy relationships and group interactions.

SEXISM

The recent women's movement of the 1970s helped make salient the notion of *sexism*, negative attitudes and behaviors toward women, and *patriarchy*, the principles of which emphasized that men and women were cast as opposites in an oppressive gender hierarchy dominated by male control and female coercion and submission (Baca Zinn, Hondagneu-Sotelo, & Messner, 2004). By recognizing oppressive male dominance, women were said to have been "liberated" and energized to develop a sense of togetherness and identity based on being women. In the mental health fields, feminist therapy was defined as a therapeutic approach that focused on unequal power between men and women, abuse, and empowerment of women in their individual lives (Enns, 1997). However, criticism of the women's movement as well as feminist therapy emerged from women of color who asserted that privileges of race and social class were excluded from the discourse on feminism and sexism (Baca Zinn et al., 2004; Espin, 1997). For example, hooks (1984; as cited in Enns, 1997) urged feminist scholars to focus on the diversity of women's experiences, rather than on equality between the sexes. Collins (1990) and others (e.g., Enns, 1997) emphasized that Black feminist thought must incorporate multiple oppressions as well as highlight the unique value of Black women and women of color in general.

To be sure, sexism and gender stereotyping appears to be fairly common across most racial/cultural groups (Hansen, Gama, & Harkins, 2002). For example, research has shown that attributes ascribed to men (e.g., active, rational, and inventive) and to women (e.g., gentle, affectionate, and weak) are similar across many cultures. At the same time, feminist scholars of color note that it is critical to contextualize the impact of sexism on women of color in a racial/cultural framework. For example, several scholars (Greene, 1994; Wyatt, 1997) have described the colonization of imagery of African American women into sexist and demeaning portrayals (e.g., as being sexually promiscuous and aggressive or a faithful obedient servant) as a means to gain control or dominance over women (and men) of color. Further, as Greene (1994) notes, such imagery also has served the purpose of masking the social reality of sexual exploitation of African American women and other women of color.

The impact of sexism on men only recently has begun to be acknowledged, and common concerns related to restriction of emotion have been described as resulting from rigid beliefs about male gender roles (Levant, 1996). Although little research exists exploring the impact of racism and sexism regarding men of color, Connell (1987, 1995; as cited in Baca Zinn et al., 2004) defined the term “racialized masculinities” to describe the ways in which men of color often are marginalized in the larger society (e.g., existing gender stereotypes of African American men and Asian American men that lead to their denigration): “this ‘othering’ of racialized masculinities helps to shore up the material privileges that have been historically connected to hegemonic masculinity as part of a system that includes gender, as well as racial, class, sexual, and other relations of power” (Baca Zinn et al., p. 170). Common issues that occur with men of color as a result of these power differentials include having few resources available, and thus, emphasizing their ability to be “tough” or “cool”; a reluctance to ask for help, which may be seen by many men of color as a threat to their sense of manhood; issues of aggression and control, which may lead to the development of dependencies, such as addictions; and the invisibility of positive gender role models (Caldwell & White, 2001; Casas, Turner, & Ruiz de Esparza, 2001; Gayles, Alston, & Staten, 2005).

Other forms of sexism occur through the social pressure that women and men of color may experience to conform to traditional gender roles as means of preserving their racial/cultural heritage. Gil and Vasquez (1996) described the “Maria paradox,” conflicts that many Latina women experience between traditional gender roles and modern life in the Western world. Conceptualizing these conflicts as a series of commandments (e.g., Do not forsake tradition), Gil and Vasquez acknowledge the trap in which Latinas may become immersed by adhering to Latino/Latina expectations of how women should behave (e.g., never raising a voice in anger), resulting in undue restriction of life choices as well as negative psychological symptoms (i.e., increase of depression, anger, and anxiety).

Bridges et al. (2003) and Chung and Kitayama (1998) described the unique impact that sexism and conformity to traditional gender roles can have on LGB People of Color. For example, a strong value among many Asian Americans is filial piety, or loyalty and obedience to family. As well, Asian cultural values incorporate order and harmony (i.e., Yin-Yang or interrelatedness of opposites) at the center of which is heterosexual marriage. As Bridges et al. note, LGB “relationships are not just seen as wrong; there is simply no frame of reference for even articulating or understanding them” (p. 119). Pressure to conform may be particularly intensified based on unique gender roles taken by men and women; men are typically viewed as the strong authority figure of the family, whereas women are expected to be completely devoted to first fathers and then husbands.

Not all racial/cultural groups enforce rigid gender roles. For example, Tafoya (1997) and Garrett and Barret (2003) described the flexible gender roles found in many Native American tribes and nations. As Tafoya (1997) stated, "most Native communities tend not to classify the world into the concrete binary categories of the Western world . . . but rather into categories that range from appropriateness to inappropriateness, depending on the context of the situation" (p. 2). For many Native Americans, understanding the relative nature of opposites (i.e., "walking in step" within the circle) provides a path toward direction and meaning in life. Thus, for many LGB Native Americans, articulating traditional (i.e., flexible) gender beliefs may help provide a means toward accepting themselves regarding all dimensions of identity.

HETEROSEXISM

Heterosexism is a societal form of oppression that has primarily focused on systemic negative attitudes, beliefs, and policies directed toward LGB individuals. Heterosexual activities, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors are considered the standard or norm against which nonheterosexual forms of behavior are denigrated, denied, and rejected (Herek, 1995). Heterosexism normalizes and privileges heterosexuality, bringing attention "to the prejudice and social stigma, both institutionally and interpersonally, faced by LGB people" (Waldo, 1999). Similar to racism and sexism, heterosexism may be expressed overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously, and intentionally or unintentionally. Heterosexism also is a systemic force that has differential impact on individuals and is embedded in almost all aspects of U.S. life in the form of language, images, icons, and interpersonal messages (Harper, Jernewall, & Zea, 2004). As a result, heterosexism can seem almost invisible.

Heterosexism is closely connected to sexism in that it further perpetuates forms of gender role conformity and family role status and expectations (Pharr, 1997). As previously noted, LGB People of Color often may find themselves feeling as "outsiders" in their own families due to cultural, gender, and family role expectations. Many racial/cultural groups ascribe to traditional gender roles as evidence of remaining connected to cultural traditions, beliefs, and value systems. These messages may cause some LGB individuals of color to feel alienated and isolated from family and friends.

Instances of heterosexism, referred to as "prejudice events" (Meyer, 1995), can range from "fag" or "dyke" jokes and exclusion from social events to violent physical assaults (Waldo, 1999). These instances reinforce the notion that heterosexuality is superior and that those who do not conform to heterosexual standards and behaviors are deviant, sick, or

perverted. Images of beauty are based on heterosexuality; as well, the presence or absence of a wedding ring perpetuates conformity to heterosexuality and sends messages of normalcy and social acceptance.

A direct psychological consequence of heterosexism is internalized heterosexism, whereby LGB individuals internalize the negative images, messages, beliefs, and attitudes and assumptions perpetuated by the larger society (Shidlo, 1994). The internalization of negative attitudes and assumptions of oneself often creates psychological distress for many individuals. The distress and manifestations of internalized heterosexism varies from person to person depending on racial/cultural reference group identity, gender, reference group identity, and sexual orientation reference group identity. These factors need to be considered when assessing and inquiring about individuals' experiences of heterosexism. For example, heterosexism may be experienced differently between men and women of color, both in their own racial/cultural community, and in the larger society. Finally, assuming that all LGB people of similar racial or ethnic reference groups experience heterosexism similarly would presume that racial group membership equalizes men's and women's experiences in their respective racial group communities.

INTERSECTIONS OF RACISM, SEXISM, AND HETEROSEXISM

Thus far, we have described the conscious and unconscious impacts of oppression as based on race, gender, and sexual orientation. Unfortunately, little theory or research exists that demonstrates how these forces together might affect LGB People of Color. In a 10-year review of LGB publications, Soto (1997, as cited in Fukuyama & Ferguson, 2000) reported that *less than 5%* of journal articles focused primarily on the area of race and ethnicity. In a more recent review, Harper et al. (2004) reported that a total of *six* articles (0.04%) published in American Psychological Association journals between 1992 and 2002 had focused on LGB People of Color. And only very recently, the two premier journals of multicultural counseling and psychology, *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* and *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, published issues specifically focused on LGB People of Color. Thus, there remains a serious lack of "empirically supported" information, treatment, and intervention models for working with these populations. As a consequence, mental health professionals likely are uninformed about assessment and treatment techniques that are affirming, adequate, and supportive of LGB People of Color.

A number of mental health professionals have described potential issues faced by LGB People of Color. For example, Greene (1997) identified LGB People of Color as a "minority within a minority." Of particular

note, Greene suggested that the process of acknowledging an LGB orientation (i.e., "coming out") may translate into greater potential for losses because of the number of communities of which LGB People of Color may be a part. Because each of these communities is likely affected by the forces of racism, sexism, and heterosexism, Greene asserts that LGB People of Color risk never being a full part of any group.

Fukuyama and Ferguson (2000) focused on important issues to consider for identity development, such as visibility or invisibility of identity/minority status and the salience of each identity. When individuals are visible targets of oppression, they may decide not to take on another form of oppression. Consequently, "when one is an invisible member of an oppressed group, as is more typical of sexual orientation, one is constantly processing decisions about when and if to self-disclose" (p. 99). Fukuyama and Ferguson urged mental health practitioners to examine multiple layers of oppression (i.e., racism, sexism, and heterosexism) that LGB People of Color may experience, noting that visibility or invisibility of minority status may influence identity development and group membership.

Miville and Ferguson (2004) proposed that LGB People of Color often are forced to choose one community over another, such as family, religion, LGB community, or their racial/cultural community. Unfortunately, some mental health practitioners also may inadvertently "ask" their LGB clients of color to choose as well, for example, by emphasizing that being "out" publicly is the only or most healthy means of living as an LGB person. Chan (1995, 1997) also has suggested that many Asian American LGB people may not be "out" because of the threat to the family system perceived by other family members. Thus, Miville and Ferguson noted that mental health professionals need to be aware of the multiple communities and multiple loyalties that LGB People of Color may belong to and experience. These authors suggested that helping LGB clients of color search and develop a sense of congruence and wholeness among their communities might be an effective focus of counseling and psychotherapy. In sum, as Anzáldua (1998) eloquently stated:

Often I am asked, What is your primary identity, being a lesbian or working-class or Chicana? . . . to put each in a separate compartment is to put them in contradiction or in isolation, when in actuality they are all constantly in a shifting dialogue/relationship. . . . All the multiple aspects of identities are part of the "lesbian." (p. 267)

THERAPEUTIC CONSIDERATIONS

An important aspect of developing any effective and meaningful helping relationship is for mental health professionals to hear the unique experiences of their clients from the clients' perspectives and worldviews,

thereby gaining an understanding and appreciation of the way(s) in which clients understand themselves. Additionally, mental health professionals need to assess how clients value themselves in all realms of their identities (e.g., gender, race, and sexual orientation). Individuals who identify with multiple social identities are coping with the psychological struggle of understanding each identity as it relates to their personal identity as well as understanding the intersections of distinct identities. These factors are important as mental health practitioners begin to develop relationships with their clients and to understand the relative salience and influence of their clients' group memberships and identities. Therapists also need to be cognizant of the impact of oppression, discrimination, marginalization, and prejudice in the lives of LGB clients of color.

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients of color may be struggling with myriad issues when they enter therapy. The issues may range from personal, intrapsychic issues to environmental and psychosocial forces or a combination of both. Although mental health professionals may conceptualize their clients' issues from various theoretical frameworks, it is important that mental health professionals also recognize that therapeutic work involves much more than assessment, diagnosis, and treatment of the presenting problem. Researchers and theorists often have discussed the influence of distal or sociological and proximal or psychological cultural characteristics in the therapeutic relationship (Helms & Cook, 1999). These characteristics may have direct or indirect influences on the ways in which therapists and clients perceive the presenting problem(s), relate to one another, perceive one another, and "trigger for the other participant whatever attitudes, beliefs, and so forth that he or she has been socialized to hold toward people who resemble the other participant" (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 175). Mental health professionals must be aware of these dynamics in their work with clients and begin to recognize when their own socialization beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions are obstructing their ability to view their clients from their unique experiences and perspectives.

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual People of Color represent a collective group and often share experiences of oppression, stigmatization, and discrimination related to any one or all of their social identities (e.g., race, gender, or sexual orientation). However, depending on individual background, personal experiences with oppression, and the relative salience of any one identity, LGB individuals of color may be struggling with multiple forms of oppression or may perceive only one form of oppression as more salient and/or harmful than another. Indeed, clients may only perceive one form of oppression (e.g., sexism), although they may be affected by other forms of oppression (e.g., racism or heterosexism).

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients of color may struggle with their racial, gender, and/or sexual identities. Although each of these identities

has varying levels of salience, each reference group identity has a collective significance that LGB individuals of color may attempt to integrate to form a psychologically whole person. For example, a Latina lesbian may focus a great deal of her discussion(s) on racial/cultural issues and omit significant attention to her sexual orientation. To consider that sexual orientation is not important to this client would be presumptuous. Instead, this omission may mean that the client is not as identified with that aspect of her identity as she is with her racial/cultural identity. It also may be an indication that the client has internalized heterosexist events to a greater degree than she has internalized other forms of oppression, thereby causing her to minimize that aspect of her identity.

Although psychological and group membership in distinct reference groups can often be challenging and difficult to negotiate for LGB individuals of color, integration of multiple identities is even more difficult, due to the varying levels of social power and privilege connected to any one social group (e.g., women, People of Color, and social class). For example, LGB men of color may find that the social status connected with being male may make it difficult to fully identify and integrate an LGB identity due to the presumed lower social status attributed to gender nonconformity. The same may be true of a lesbian of color who may experience the status of being a woman more positively than the status of being lesbian. Therapists' recognition and awareness of the differential statuses assigned to social groups often helps the client gain a better understanding and awareness of the internal and external conflicts associated with intersecting multiple identities.

Much of the literature regarding sexual orientation has focused on the coming out process (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1989) based primarily on the experiences of White/European Americans. Although LGB individuals of color often experience similar coming out issues as White/European American individuals (e.g., varying comfort/discomfort levels of same-sex attraction or psychological stress associated with same-sex attraction), they likely experience challenges associated with having to face the possibility of being rejected by their communities of color that have historically provided barriers against racism. This psychological barrier against oppression reduces "minority stress" (Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993) that often results in the face of constant exposure to "-isms." Internal conflict and open resistance to identifying with LGB communities may emerge for LGB clients of color when they "come out" to their families and communities of color. Feelings of psychological protection against racism may be shattered or greatly reduced in their struggle to integrate their multiple identities. Thus, many LGB clients may contend with sexism, heterosexism, and racism without the protection of family and community.

When LGB clients of color discuss these types of experiences in session, it is important that mental health practitioners be aware of and attuned to ways in which they may convey attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that alienate, diminish, and perpetuate oppression of their LGB clients of color. Examples of how such forms of communication can be conveyed are: (a) insensitivity and lack of awareness of clients' resistance or reluctance to separate their ties with family and communities of color, (b) encouragement for clients to integrate themselves with LGB communities without examination of existing "-isms" in those groups, (c) unawareness of standardized intake forms or interview questions that contain sexist and heterosexist language, and (d) presumption that LGB clients of color do not desire connections to traditional forms of religion (Bridges et al., 2003). Practitioners need to be conscious of their attitudes, beliefs, and biases that unintentionally may be communicated through verbal language, nonverbal language, and through standardized procedures.

With respect to the general goals and process of therapy, we suggest that, in the face of complex multiple identities that may need to be developed and maintained in the context of multiple communities, there is simply no one resolution that fits all LGB clients of color. Rather, we emphasize that individuals construct (and receive support from their therapists for doing so) their own identity constellation, as based on their unique situations. In short, we propose that the role of mental health professionals is not to "prescribe" individual identity development and resolution or development, but rather to facilitate the development of identities that are congruent with the wishes, values, and context of their individual clients. We believe that mental health professionals need to help their clients recognize how racism, sexism, and heterosexism may act as psychologically detrimental forces in their lives. Paradoxically, this may mean that practitioners would need to help clients maintain connections with communities that hold racist, sexist, or heterosexist beliefs.

CASE VIGNETTES

In this section, we illustrate several issues we have raised so far through two case samples. Following each case, we discuss possible mental health issues, particularly related to issues of multiple oppressions, and potential strategies for dealing with these issues.

Case 1

Carl is a 20-year-old Trinidadian male who, on entering therapy, stated that he was depressed and anxious most of the time. Initially, he was reserved and quiet; however, as the session progressed, he became a little more relaxed and disclosed additional information about his personal life. Carl stated that he was gay, but was not

completely sure because he had not dated anyone yet. He described his friendships as few, but he felt some level of support from the few friends he had, most of whom were African American women. Carl had not yet disclosed his feelings about his sexual orientation to his mother, stating that he did not want to lose her by discussing this topic. He appeared quite reticent about not talking with his mother, and stated that she was his primary support system. Carl disclosed that he still had relatives in Trinidad, but was terrified of visiting family there due to his fear of violent behavior toward him if other men suspected that he was gay. Carl's fear of being harmed was generalized to all men, and consequently he avoided contact with men. Carl had considered going to a LGB counseling group, but felt that he would not feel comfortable.

Therapeutic Issues and Strategies

Of primary concern with Carl's case is the interaction of race/culture with sexual orientation. This is evident in several ways. First, although Carl is not yet sure that his sexual orientation is gay, he may be hesitant to explore this because he is concerned about the impact that being gay may have on his family relationships, particularly through the loss of his primary support system. Further, Carl is concerned about how being gay may be perceived by his racial/cultural community, having some realistic fears about potential violence that may be directed toward him as a result of his sexual orientation. His avoidance of other men and fear of discomfort about joining an LGB support group points to the possibility that Carl may have internalized some of these heterosexist messages. Carl's avoidance of men also may be related to his own confusion and uncertainties about what it means to be a man, particularly a Black Trinidadian man. Carl's feelings of discomfort about joining an LGB support group may be due in part to racism, both institutional and internalized, in that he fears the group may not be able to provide understanding and support about being a Person of Color.

Strategies for helping Carl include helping him identify what he would like to see change in his life (i.e., what are his goals for counseling/therapy). One potential area is to help Carl explore his hesitations about "coming out" to his mother and family. Part of this exploration needs to involve active support for Carl's feelings regarding potential losses of his family support system. In this context, exploration of family and cultural messages regarding sexuality and being gay may occur. Another area of exploration centers on Carl's sense of himself as a man, particularly as a man of color, and the links between his thoughts and feeling regarding his gender identity and being a gay man. Finally, supporting concerns regarding potential racism in the LGB community is important; at the same time, helping Carl to explore how he might have internalized racism also might occur.

Case 2

Audrey is a 25-year-old Asian American woman who presents with relationship issues, family conflict, and low self-esteem. She was reluctant to talk about her family, but generally stated that they were very "traditional" and well integrated into the surrounding Asian community. Audrey has two older brothers and she is the only girl in the family. She has found it difficult to talk with her parents about her current life

and feels that they are primarily interested that she find an Asian husband. Audrey does not feel that her family is interested in any other aspect of her life, despite her efforts to talk with them about these other facets. Audrey currently is in a relationship with another woman (Kathy, a 32-year-old White woman), although she often spends holidays and other celebratory customs with her family. Audrey does not bring Kathy to family gatherings, leading to tension in this relationship. Although Audrey does not want to lose her relationship with Kathy, she also does not want to be alienated from her family and community.

Therapeutic Issues and Strategies

Unlike Carl, Audrey does not seem to have questions about her sexual orientation, but, similar to Carl, she is concerned about the impact of her lesbian relationship on her relationships with her family and the larger Asian community. It is possible that Audrey is concerned that she might in some way shame or embarrass her family by choosing not to marry an Asian husband and have children in the traditional manner. Audrey has chosen to keep her sexual relationship with Kathy as a private matter separate from her family and cultural background. At the same time, Audrey's decision not to be "out" to her family is creating tension in her relationship with her partner. Thus, Audrey likely feels pulled to choose between her lesbian partner and her family and Asian traditions.

Possible strategies for working with Audrey are to help her articulate the tensions among the various relationships and communities that she may feel. Some of the "-isms" (i.e., sexism, racism, and heterosexism) at work here may need to be explored with Audrey, including how negative messages regarding race, gender, and sexual orientation might have been internalized. For example, Audrey is likely aware of the cultural expectations that exist for her as a daughter and a woman, and how these may conflict with her individual wishes not to conform to these expectations. At the same time, Audrey may want to avoid embarrassing her family and feeling cut off from her community by acting or dressing in a nonconforming way. Another strategy might be at some point to invite Kathy, her partner, to do some couples counseling to help Audrey and Kathy strategize how to live in healthy and satisfying ways as a lesbian couple without unduly alienating Audrey from her family.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, we outlined the multiple and additive effects that racism, sexism, and homophobia can have on LGB People of Color. The effects of these oppressive forces may be experienced at various levels, ranging from individual to societal. Oppression affects individuals uniquely, such that their impact may affect people differentially. For many People of Color, their racial/cultural communities serve as critical buffers against the many forms of hostility represented in oppression. As such, we recommend that mental health professionals help their clients to deconstruct their oppressive experiences to define positive identities that incorporate

their unique wishes, values, and contexts/communities. In this way, clients can develop a more holistic sense of self.

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CHAPTER 7

Healing Collective Wounds from Racism

The Community Forum Model

BARBARA C. WALLACE

Racism is not only a barrier to cultural competence but also a destructive force that leaves targeted communities with collective wounds in need of healing. The legacy of racism is especially evident in the African American community in the United States. Here, the most powerful quantification of racism's legacy, manifestations, and effects rests in evidence that Blacks—compared to Whites—suffer the disproportionate burden of multiple interrelated disparities in the areas of physical health, mental health, education, employment, income, and housing (Acevedo-Garcia, Lochner, Osypuk, & Subramanian, 2003; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005; Darity, 2003). As a result, it is appropriate to refer to the African American community as being in a state of crisis (Ayebofo, 2005). Crisis intervention on the level of community with African Americans emerges as justified—even as the only viable long-term solution to overcoming racism involves Whites and the whole of humanity deciding to take action to eradicate racism and heal all related wounds. Thus, what is offered in this chapter is ultimately a prescription for healing collective wounds from racism sustained by all of humanity, while a strong rationale exists for focusing on the African American community, given a crisis.

The eradication of racism typically focuses on individual-level change processes that may transform interpersonal interactions, groups, organizations, communities, and societies (Cross, 1991). Addressing individual-,

institutional-, and cultural-level racism characteristic of the United States is central (Jones, 1997). As one approach, prior work fostered individual-level acquisition of adaptive affective, behavioral, and cognitive coping responses to racism, and progressive identity development consistent with healing wounds to identity (Wallace, 2005; Wallace, Carter, Nanin, Keller, & Alleyne, 2003).

This chapter builds directly on this prior work, but moves beyond a focus on *individual-level* responses to the legacy/manifestations/effects of racism. This chapter focuses on *community-level* or *group-level* acquisition of adaptive coping responses in the African American community, including progressive identity development as a community that takes responsible action for healing collective wounds from racism. The community-level or group-level intervention introduced in this chapter for healing collective wounds from racism is the community forum model. While various models have been created to assist psychologists and their trainees, students, and clients in becoming culturally competent or acquiring racial-cultural competence (Constantine & Sue, 2005; Pedersen, Draguns, Conner, & Trimble, 2002), the community forum approach is novel. It is novel as an intervention designed for the level of community or the group that arises from collaboration between two women: an African American psychologist and an indigenous healer/Chief Shaman in the Akan spiritual tradition of Ghana, Africa.

Potential benefits of community forum participation for African Americans include community members emerging better equipped to cope in response to the following: (a) individual-, institutional-, or cultural-level racism (Jones, 1997); (b) contemporary aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002); and (c) the internalization of racism with reenactment of divide-and-conquer dynamics (Wallace, 2003). Given the potential value of the community forum intervention, this chapter describes the rationale, guiding principles, key concepts, sample discussion topics, and illustrative dialogue from an actual community forum held with the African American community.

THE COLLABORATION OF A PSYCHOLOGIST AND AN INDIGENOUS HEALER

In work with the African American community, there is great value in psychologists collaborating with an indigenous African healer/Chief Shaman, as did the present author. Such collaboration permits accessing invaluable resources: ancient wisdom, spiritual knowledge, the indigenous African worldview, and African cultural values. Practitioners have been encouraged to “interface with indigenous healers and resources” to

address the “whole person in a way that is culturally meaningful” (Myers et al., 2005, pp. 123–124) and to develop “an appreciation for the inherent strengths of indigenous peoples’ unique designs for living and patterns of interpreting reality, or worldviews” (p. 110).

There is great logic in drawing on indigenous healers and the resources they bring from their healing tradition, including cultural beliefs and values, especially when working with the descendants of that cultural group (Constantine, Myers, Kindaichi, & Moore, 2004). The call to draw on non-Western indigenous healing practices and ancient African wisdom is not new (Myers, 1992; Some, 1998). Likewise, psychology has been taken to task for not including a greater focus on spirituality (Miller, 1999a; Smith & Richards, 2005). Benefits from integrating psychology and spirituality, as when clinicians and indigenous healers collaborate, may include the following: (a) a shift away from individualistic values to a more collectivist perspective; (b) a focus on the “importance of service, giving, and responsibility to others and the environment”; and (c) the “need to transcend self-focused desires and actions” (Smith & Richards, 2005, p. 139). Thus, the formal study of the “benefits of collaboration with local spiritual organizations and leaders” is recommended (Smith & Richards, 2005, p. 153).

Collaboration among indigenous healers and psychologists may be as natural as that between parent and child. This stands in contrast to the prior century when psychology took a hostile stance toward its spiritual roots and asserted “separateness from parents” (Miller, 1999b, p. xviii). Suggesting maturity in the field, there is now a “quest to integrate rather than alienate the spiritual side of human nature” (Miller, 1999b, p. xviii). This has also been called a quest for ethnocultural themes in psychology, as a return to an early perspective in the field, one articulated by William James in *Varieties of Religious Experiences*—justifying contemporary psychologists’ embrace of indigenous healers and their resources (Trimble, 2001).

There is also other historical support for collaboration between indigenous healers and psychologists in contemporary times, given the primacy of the shamanic tradition. “Long before there were science-based health care professions, people were served by culturally defined healers. The functions of healing were often blended with those of spiritual leadership within the community, as in the native *shaman* . . . and pilgrimage shrines” (Miller & Thoresen, 1999, p. 3).

WHY DEPLOY THE COMMUNITY FORUM AS AN INTERVENTION?

Thus, the present collaboration between a psychologist and an indigenous healer allows a Chief Shaman—trained in one of the oldest shrines

on the continent of Africa, the Nana Akonnedi Shrine of Larteh-Kubease, Ghana—to bring spiritual leadership to this project, including the primary rationale for deploying community forums as an intervention. This is consistent with the historical primacy of the centuries old shamanic tradition of the Akan of West Africa. The rationale for the deployment of the community forum as an intervention arises from the obedience of the Chief Shaman to her Akan Elders who recommended implementation of the community forum model. The Elders' recommendations included first developing and pioneering the community forum model with the African American community, then adapting it for integrated communities, and other groups with special needs—whether the incarcerated or those with psychiatric conditions. The Elders recommended the community forum model as a way to: (a) promote healing collective wounds from racism, enslavement, and bondage; (b) create supportive communities; (c) foster the experience of unity—referred to as “Biakoye,” in the Twi language of Ghana; and (d) move community members toward the taking of action to address the crisis in their communities and pursue their own healing.

Lending additional support to the recommendations of the Elders of the Chief Shaman, psychologists urge culturally competent clinicians to go beyond their clinical roles and engage in a psychoeducational or systems intervention (Sue & Torino, 2005). The facilitation of difficult dialogues is recommended, given how “community forums and events” may serve to establish personal rather than professional relationships and increase interaction with healthy members of the community, leaders, and “real people” (Sue & Torino, 2005, p. 12). Designing a community forum model for a particular community, such as the African American community or People of Color is also valid, given their need to “understand and become aware of their own issues related to race relations” (p. 9). For, there may be pain and anger caused by “years of invalidation and oppression by Whites,” and a justified “resentment and suspiciousness” that can create a “schism that may prove more harmful than helpful,” while serving as a “barrier” that requires People of Color to understand their own identity development (p. 9). People of Color also need to avoid issues that divide rather than unify, such as the “who’s more oppressed trap” (p. 9).

The concept of harmony is discussed in our community forum model dialogue, serving to avoid such a trap among African Americans along skin color or class lines. Psychologists also support such a focus on harmony (Myers, 1992; Myers et al., 2005; Nobles, 1972).

Additional support for the community forum model arises from emphasis placed on African Americans seeking out social support, making commitments to take action to address community concerns, experiencing validation, and self-empowerment (Franklin, 2004). Also

recommended is the exploration of “how personal, group, and institutional racism and oppression influence all people and groups,” indicating how a “continuous dialogue must exist. If meaningful race relations are to occur, that dialogue must allow for open and thoughtful discussion” (Wang, 2005, p. 89). There is also support for a racial-identity based education/training that fosters shifting from “what others imagine them to be to who they really are,” as they “Learn to Be” through racial identity development (Wang, 2005, p. 78). The community forum intervention represents a response to all of these collective recommendations.

The community forum is a place where African Americans can honestly dialogue as equals about what they all share in common, for example, experiences of discrimination. Discrimination in public places occurs even against middle-class Blacks (Feagin, 2000, p. 83), suggesting the common ground shared by all Blacks, regardless of socioeconomic status. Such reports of discrimination occur, despite the promise of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that entitled Black Americans to the full and equal enjoyment in public places of the available goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations (Feagin, 2000). Hence, a strong rationale exists for deploying the community forum as an intervention.

THE SKILLS AND GUIDING THEORY CONTRIBUTED BY THE PSYCHOLOGIST

First, clinicians are in a unique position to engage in a form of community service that allows them to utilize their training and skills in facilitating difficult and painful dialogues. The community forum model incorporates voluntary, unpaid service that took the clinician serving as facilitator of the intervention home to Philadelphia, offering training and skills in facilitating what could potentially be a difficult and painful dialogue. Such service is vitally needed in urban areas where African Americans suffer the disproportionate burden of racism and multiple interrelated disparities.

Second, clinicians may draw on theory as a guide for their work as facilitators of forums. For example, the integration of identity development theory, stages of change, and the use of motivational interviewing (MI) may foster relatively rapid movement across identity development statuses or stages, fostering forum participants emerging ready to take action to address the crisis in their communities, while healing wounds to identity (Wallace et al., 2003). Moreover, integrated theory serves as a guide for what clinicians may say and do as facilitators of forums. For

example, MI provides a rationale for clinicians exploring community members' concerns (i.e., the stimuli of racism), options for responding (i.e., concrete strategies for taking action, coping, and social action for social justice), and preferred "next steps" for action. Motivational interviewing increases intrinsic motivation to take action, effectively resulting in self-empowerment, while respecting the right of community members to engage in the self-determination of the next steps for taking action. Also, MI guides facilitators in responding to the free-flowing dialogue of participants, particularly when any intention to change or take action is mentioned, positively reinforcing any "change talk" (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Wallace et al., 2003).

Finally, integrated theory also suggests how community members may pursue racial-cultural skill acquisition, such as practical skills for coping with the stress of racism, including adaptive affective, behavioral, and cognitive responses (Wallace, 2005). However, as a group-level or community-level intervention, the community forum model seeks to foster such practical coping skills as a characteristic of the community as a whole. Thus, the community forum is a setting in which clinicians can practically apply their training, skills, and integrated theory.

THE HEALING WISDOM OF AFRICA CONTRIBUTED BY THE INDIGENOUS HEALER

The Chief Shaman contributed the healing wisdom of Africa via key guiding principles for the community forum model: (a) provide an experience of equality and respect; (b) foster freedom of expression and the exercise of free will in taking action; (c) attain unity, harmony, and interdependence; and (d) produce healing by virtue of the three prior guiding principles.

Providing an experience of equality and respect is central to the community forum model. Equality and respect serve as key guide posts, in so far as the African American community needs respect—the same respect given to every other group in the world and, especially, in the United States. If given the respect offered to every other group, this constitutes the attainment of equality, as African Americans gain equal access to the experience of respect. African Americans must also gain respect for their own African American identity, heritage, value system, and way of life, just as every other group in society needs to acquire this respect. The community forum is a setting in which African Americans experience equal access to the experience of respect, and gain respect for their identity, heritage, values, and way of life.

Fostering freedom of expression occurs in community forums, given how African Americans gain access to a safe space where they can tell their own story, define their own issues, and create their own solutions. This freedom of expression includes engaging in dialogue about concerns with regard to the crisis in their community. Freedom of expression also includes exercising a free will to take action in response to concerns, including actions inherent in those solutions created. Also, freedom of expression and the exercise of a free will are nurtured, supported, and positively reinforced in the community forum as phenomena totally separate and distinct from prior social conditioning in the U.S. system of racist oppression.

The attainment of unity, harmony, and interdependence represent primary goals of forums. These goals involve African Americans identifying and focusing on sameness, or what is shared in common, thereby experiencing the empowerment that results from the community learning to speak with one voice, focus on one common goal, and achieve one common objective at a time. Unity results in feelings of empowerment that support taking action.

By virtue of the community forum model's three prior guiding principles, the culmination of this healing wisdom is the ultimate goal of the forum as an intervention: to produce healing. The community forum is a place for African Americans to heal, as they attend to and care for their own wounds. Metaphorically speaking, the community forum is a safe space where bandages can be carefully removed, wounds rarely exposed gain access to air, the honest truth of how these wounds were sustained is spoken aloud as an absolutely rare communal experience, and collective wounds to identity can be addressed. This resultant healing is viewed as the ultimate solution for a community in crisis. This healing experience includes African Americans acknowledging how wounds to identity have been sustained as a result of an "agenda" that prescribed the role and function of African Americans through the enslavement experience, and subsequent experiences of racism, oppression, and discrimination. Healing in the community forum includes community members co-creating a new agenda, one allowing community members to determine their own role and function. This healing also includes African Americans creating a new plan for the structure of their communities, as well as a plan for action in response to the crisis in their community. These plans for action should include models of sustainable development, starting, for example, with neighbors or those sharing common environments learning to work together, helping and supporting each other. Action projects that are sustainable over time likely foster the community's health, social, educational, or economic development.

Finally, it must be recognized that these principles serve as guideposts for what is admittedly a painful journey for African Americans. This journey is painful because of the open admission of how community members have been acting based on what they were told to do—consistent with those subordinate roles and functions prescribed for them under the agenda. It is also painful to acknowledge destructive behaviors. Thus, the nature of this painful and difficult dialogue, once again, underscores the role of a clinician in serving as a facilitator of forums, even as the principles of the Chief Shaman serve as key guideposts in the dialogue process.

IDENTIFYING WOUNDS IN NEED OF HEALING VIA THE INTERVENTION OF THE COMMUNITY FORUM

From the perspective of the clinician co-creating the community forum model, what needs to be healed are collective wounds to identity from individual-, institutional-, and cultural-level racism, contemporary aversive racism, and, the internalization of racism. However, the Chief Shaman's Elders also specify collective wounds from racism in need of healing—as summarized by Ayebofo (2005), the Chief Shaman. Following these are specified in greater detail.

THE NEED TO HEAL WOUNDS FROM THE TRAUMA OF SEPARATION

First, there is great trauma in the genetic memory of the race because of the slavery and bondage experience, suggesting a collective wound in need of healing. This memory of great trauma stored on the genetic level is transmitted across generations up to the present day. This trauma includes the following elements: the enslaved being taken away from his or her family and not knowing if he or she would ever be reconnected; striving for reconnection without success, then accepting that he or she would never be connected with his or her family again; and the perpetual feeling that there is something missing, which persists up to the present generations, without the sense of what is missing. Thus, wounds from the trauma of separation include a profound disruption of the sense of being connected with one's whole family and community (Ayebofo, 2005).

This separation trauma and wounding occurred both during the capture and enslavement experience, and during the United States plantation experience when families were sold and separated from each other. In contemporary times, there is separation from family due to factors such as incarceration, mandated residential drug treatment, illness/death, or loss of child custody.

THE NEED TO HEAL SEPARATION FROM FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Because what needs to be healed is not only “within the individual sufferer,” but also in “that person’s relationships with the larger world” (Kurtz, 1999, p. 21), the community forum represents an opportunity for community members to witness and experience how separated parts of the community are actually connected, or make up one whole. This perception of connection and wholeness heals wounds from past traumatic separation. These wounds have left the African American community prone to separation and divide-and-conquer dynamics. The object is to also get people to see that whatever they do affects the whole group—consistent with a key concept discussed in forums, namely interdependence (Ayebofo, 2005).

THE NEED TO HEAL RELATIONSHIPS VIA NEW AGREEMENTS AND A NEW AGENDA

Healing also needs to occur in the realm of those agreements that guide relationships among community members. To the extent that the trauma of separation and the resulting dynamics and feelings of separation are released or overcome, something new may emerge: relationships based on a restored sense of wholeness. New relationships based on interdependence and a sense of wholeness and connection require new agreements and premises. The community forum is a potential setting for the forging of new agreements in a new agenda or new plan for living that is co-created by members of the African American community. Potential new agreements recommended include the following: (a) maintain awareness of how what affects one affects all; (b) for the whole group to improve, each one must improve; (c) for the whole group to experience abundance, each one must accept the goal of abundance; (d) how the power that each member of the group has is what makes the whole group powerful; and (e) that the choice of how to use power must be for the group (Ayebofo, 2005).

THE NEED TO HEAL RELATIONSHIPS VIA PARDONING, FORGIVENESS, AND APOLOGY

Racism has also damaged interpersonal relationships, suggesting how relationships must be healed. A contemporary possibility involves the development of close friendly relationships or intimate relationships among Whites, African Americans, and other diverse individuals—whether in shared public spaces, work, and/or housing settings. Key to close, friendly, intimate relationships is learning how to pardon another, while accepting shortcomings, and creating opportunities to remedy mistakes.

Contemporary close, friendly, or intimate relationships will likely require acts of pardoning, forgiveness, and apology, to both permit and sustain relationships. To pardon is to forgive another for an offense, or to absolve, acquit, or overlook a mistake, shortcoming, or offense committed by another. As a result of pardoning, that person does not have to suffer a negative consequence or punishment. To forgive typically involves the feeling realm, while to pardon involves the realm of consequences. An apology is a formal acknowledgment of one's own error, mistake, or offense (Ayebofo, 2005).

Essential to learning how to live in harmony with diverse citizens, coworkers, and neighbors is a "consciousness of pardoning." A consciousness of pardoning involves knowing that others are capable of doing things that are offensive and for which one may have to pardon or forgive them. This consciousness of pardoning may result in interacting cautiously with others and using one's intuition, discernment, and keenness of judgment—knowing that another can commit an offense, as a possibility. Individuals accept that there are things that are concealed behind boundaries, and that they may have to take their time and even wait and allow themselves to totally experience a situation before they make a judgment as to whether another person is as he or she appears to be. This means a cautious approach to developing close, friendly relations, given how another persons' boundaries may serve to conceal things about them (Ayebofo, 2005).

What may be concealed could be a pro-White bias, consistent with contemporary aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998, 2000; Dovidio et al., 2002). Aversive racism is characteristic of many Whites who endorse egalitarian values, "regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but who discriminate in subtle, rationalizable ways," as they "also unconsciously harbor negative feelings and beliefs about blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000, p. 315).

Thus, to interact with Whites who may engage in aversive racism, even as they smile, yet go on to discriminate, suggests the value in fostering the consciousness of pardoning, as a way to heal wounds sustained from racism and discrimination. However, a consciousness of pardoning must also be brought to the development of close, friendly, intimate relations among diverse African Americans. For, racism's legacy, manifestations, and effects include divide-and-conquer dynamics among African Americans, superior-inferior dynamics, skin color issues, fierce destructive competition with a tendency to pull down the one rising ("crabs in a basket"), and violence and fighting among community members. Thus, a lack of trust and the resulting need for pardoning, forgiveness, and apology also exist among diverse African Americans.

THE RECOMMENDED STRUCTURE AND FORMAT FOR THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Having established what needs to be healed via the community forum model, the recommended structure and function of the forum can be discussed. Each forum begins with a review of the rules (e.g., turn off cell phones, raise your hand, or stand up to speak), a description of the purpose (e.g., social support, support for the true self, and to heal wounds to identity from living in an unsupportive environment), a summary review of the concepts previously defined and discussed in prior community forums (if any), and the two to three new topics that are being used to stimulate dialogue in that particular forum. The topics typically trigger a free-flowing dialogue among equals, touching on issues of concern, and enhancing intrinsic motivation for taking action. The forum has seven sessions of approximately 1.5 to 2 hours in length. The two to three new topics highlighted in any given forum are drawn from a psychoeducational curriculum that contains a menu of approximately 21 items. Some menu items may be delivered to diverse communities in varied settings; others may be deemed appropriate for delivery to a community suffering from trauma, or an integrated community, or a particular community—such as the African American community. While the curriculum has been delivered across seven separate once per month forum sessions, other options include once per week sessions, a 14-hour weekend, or a 2-day conference event. This flexibility is suited to individual consultation styles. A clinician new to community service might easily commit to facilitating a forum once per month for just 1.5 to 2 hours—whether after church services, in a prison, or community setting.

Thus, the community forum model can be adapted or tailored in many ways—including to facilitate dialogue among a special population (e.g., those incarcerated, with trauma, psychiatric conditions, or comorbidity), or an integrated community, a community of People of Color, or one composed of only African Americans, for example. It is also possible to have forum coleaders, such as a clinician-community leader/indigenous healer team, two clinicians, or different clinicians who specialize on topics and rotate across sessions. In our case, the clinician leads the dialogue, and the Chief Shaman is always present, participating in the dialogue.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM CURRICULUM AND MENU OF TOPICS

The curriculum includes the following menu of topics: the metaphor of the festival ground as the destination toward which members of the

forum are symbolically traveling as a group; the possibilities of the group being in either a state of detour, danger, or nearing the festival grounds, as qualitative evaluations of the dialogue transpiring in the forum at any given point in time; deciding what does and does not work in striving to reach the metaphoric festival grounds, both on the part of individuals and the group; the agenda as a deceptive plan created by a first party that includes a specific role (how to be) and function (what to do) for a second party; how the second party was never included in the original planning process, never asked for advance consent to participate in the plan, never considered for equitable distribution of benefits, and never treated as equal to the first party in this agenda; the historical and contemporary implications of this agenda for African Americans; how programming for the agenda occurs, as a process of repeatedly exposing human beings to images, myths, and brainwashing that tells people how to be, what to do, and what the world is; how programming includes human beings internalizing, learning, acting out, teaching about, and passing on to others an artificial false concept of self, a fake view of the world, and distorted unnatural ways of being and doing that replace being fully alive and free to act based on one's own will; and what it means to be free, have a will, and exercise a free will in contrast to programming for the agenda.

Yet other items on the forum menu follow: the goal of overcoming divide-and-conquer and superior-inferior dynamics; the task of surrendering the wearing of masks, masquerade, and lying to survive in unsupportive environments; the need to form support systems and supportive communities that facilitate survival and support the true self, real identity, and living one's truth; the vital role of creating harmony among community members by agreeing to focus on sameness and working together to reach goals; interdependence as a goal for those living in shared environments; the process of achieving freedom from chaos and confusion, moving out of crisis toward peace and stability, and using a clear mind to tap into a creative genius that can create phenomenal positive realities; learning to focus to achieve personal and community goals, including how to be and create whatever one decides on, or to be and co-create whatever the community decides on; learning to make and keep commitments ("I am who I say I am and do what I say I will do"); the creation of a new agenda/plan where people self-determine their own role and function and experience equitable distribution of resources, including making new agreements; and, finally, the use of cultural rituals to restore a sense of wholeness, unity, and action in the community.

INITIAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE COMMUNITY FORUM MODEL

The community forum model described in this chapter has been pioneered and developed with African Americans in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The first series of community forums have been held across the year 2005 with largely African American community residents meeting in a large auditorium-type classroom setting in a city-funded agency made available once per month on Sunday afternoons—as a form of support lent to the non-profit agency of the Chief Shaman. The forums have attracted 20 to 40 participants on each Sunday afternoon, being free and open to members of the general public. Participants attend the forum in response to individual-level invitations, letters, flyers, or newsletters circulated in the community.

However, future adaptations of the model, especially those in a weekend forum conference event model, hold the possibility of consultation and venue fees being assumed by participants. Of note, partly because the forum is open to members of the general public, formal rules include the use of “time outs” where all talking stops; a “time out” can only be called by the facilitator. To date, it has not been necessary to call a “time out” during a community forum. Mutual respect has prevailed during the forum dialogue with members of the general public.

WHAT ARE OUTCOMES OF THE COMMUNITY FORUM MODEL?

The community forums reliably generate enthusiasm and a request for them to continue and grow. Possibilities include training others to be facilitators of forums, allowing for the format to find wider dissemination in varied settings and communities. A committee comprised of community members has formed to take action, ensuring that the forum continues and grows. Plans include the formation of action committees to address particular problems in the African American community, such as school and community violence. In addition, plans include conducting community forums with integrated communities, as well as the incarcerated.

CASE VIGNETTE: SAMPLE DIALOGUE FROM A COMMUNITY FORUM

A community forum held in Philadelphia on a Sunday afternoon with approximately 20 participants began with the director of the program housed in the space we were permitted to use for that day welcoming everyone to his “house.” He then reviewed the ground rules (e.g., turn off cell phones and raise your hand) and introduced me as the forum facilitator. The facilitator reviewed the concepts introduced in the prior

two community forums; for example, the agenda that prescribed the role and function of Blacks in society to keep them in their place, and the wearing of masks/masquerade and lying to survive in unsupportive environments. Participants began to dialogue about these concepts, repeating themes from the prior forum. The ensuing dialogue covered both the current crisis in the African American community, and the spirituality, genius, and creativity of Black folks that allow them to survive and totally transform themselves again and again—inspiring all present. The young, middle-aged, Elders, men, women, employed, unemployed, community leaders, and formerly incarcerated present all found a setting in which they could honestly share in dialogue as equals.

The state of crisis in the Philadelphia community was eloquently summarized by one middle-aged man who listed what the community is “battling,” while others added to the list: an epidemic of violence and guns, HIV/AIDS, incarceration, addiction and drug dealing, the breaking up of families, children in foster care, and sexual abuse/incest/rape. This list was not comprehensive, but reflected what participants were moved to talk about, as the dialogue flowed. Each participant who spoke received positive reinforcement from the facilitator, and was reinforced for engaging in “change talk,” consistent with principles of MI—as participants also spoke about the ways they wanted to work to change these things in their community. Hence, intrinsic motivation to change and take action was enhanced.

The voices of participants rose in listing all that was needed at this time of crisis: unity, harmony, community members agreeing to focus on common goals, leadership, empowerment, compromise, and economic development. One young married man talked about the importance of sitting with one’s family once per week or every night at dinner—reviving an important cultural ritual. The goal is to find out what issues need to be discussed, asking: “What do we need to talk about?” For example, “How can I address my child’s issue before it becomes a problem?”

A man who spent many years incarcerated talked about how he was now totally transformed from the former drug dealer he once was. He now valued legal work and his commitment to his family, also explaining why he might not be able to regularly attend all of the planned community forums, given this commitment. He was also a powerful orator, inspiring all present, as he stood as a model for the kind of total transformation and creation of a new self that loomed as possible for so many. This was underscored as significant, given the current crisis in the community with unprecedented numbers of African Americans incarcerated.

Another young man talked about the urgency of focusing on economic development in the Black community to support those newly released from incarceration in finding ways to avoid a return to a life of crime. He was affirmed for such a focus by other community members, including another who self-identified as having such a background. The young man who brought up the issue of economic development then admitted to having the same history of incarceration but now having his own successful business. Out of the group of 20 present, at least 3 admitted to a history of incarceration and overcoming the lure of drugs, guns, and violence. The young man expressed a commitment to helping those newly re-

leased from incarceration in developing business plans and obtaining capital to start a business.

A venerated Elder responded by explaining the need to take a global perspective. He talked about how the Arabs were fighting in the Sudan for access to Africa. Meanwhile, in other parts of Africa, others are seeking to gain access to the jewels of Africa. The Elder affirmed the importance of African Americans coming to realize the value of that which is in Africa, and how economic development in Africa needed to include African Americans with a global perspective.

Another young man talked about how there was a need for the African American community to come together and focus on finding solutions to community problems right there in Philadelphia. "Some of us identify as Yoruba, or Muslim, or Baptist," but the issue is how to come together and work on common problems. The facilitator felt it was time to introduce one of the new key terms for that day's forum: Harmony. A definition on a large placard was offered: "HARMONY. A state where distinct parts come together peacefully to coexist as a whole, while enjoying unity and *agreement* to focus on *sameness* versus differences, cooperate on issues, collaborate on processes, and co-create the realization of goals and outcomes."

Dialogue stimulated by this term began. A young woman was inspired to share how attaining harmony required compromise. For, people might have an urge to do things their own way. But, to cooperate or collaborate to achieve a goal, compromise might need to occur, or some surrender of the desire or urge to do things their way. She also saw focus as key, pointing to the next term to be reviewed that day, which was visible on a large placard. The facilitator reviewed the pertinent definition: "FOCUS. The act of placing one's attention and concentration on an issue, process, goal, or outcome, as one observes and monitors what is working and what is not working in producing movement toward the desired goal and outcome."

To stimulate more discussion, the facilitator pointed to the relationship between the two concepts, as displayed on a placard. "In order to achieve HARMONY, the many factions of the African American community need *agreement* to focus on *sameness* and overcome separation, divide-and-conquer tactics, and superior-inferior dynamics. Moreover, if we desire the goal and outcome of harmony, then we must FOCUS." The facilitator asked the participants to look at their personal lives and the African American community and to ask: "What prevents me from maintaining my focus? What am I doing that works or does not work? What sidetracks me? What do I do to create lack of movement toward desired goals? Can I forgive myself for what does not work? What is my community doing that does not work? What sidetracks us as a community from reaching goals? Can I forgive others for what does not work?"

One middle-aged woman spoke of how hard and painful it was for her to focus on herself and to take responsibility for what she was doing personally that was not working. But she was pursuing this hard work, receiving positive reinforcement from the facilitator. Another young man spoke of giving up on adults and doubting they could change. In response, his attention was drawn to the

evidence that people could totally transform themselves, pointing to several formerly incarcerated men in the room who stood as powerful evidence that a person could create a totally new self. The young man and all present were offered a formula shown on a placard for creating and manifesting in reality, and were encouraged to use it, filling in the blanks: "I am going to be _____ and create _____! As a part of my community, I am going to be _____ and co-create _____!" By focusing their attention in this manner, they were encouraged to discover: "What you focus or place your attention on, you create or manifest in reality."

The facilitator asked participants about the next steps they wanted to take, consistent with motivational interviewing principles. The dialogue covered how participants wanted to focus on the goal of creating a community forum the next month (as well as once per month in coming months) with a group larger than the 20 present on this rainy 1st day of spring. Many commented, "This is what our community needs." The African American male who was the gifted orator felt inspired and asked permission to recite a powerful poem about the creativity, genius, spirituality, and royal heritage of African Americans, while describing the crisis in the community. He was acknowledged with thunderous applause. The group entered an adjacent room containing a buffet of healthy food—reserved for the social networking portion of the event.

ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY FORUM DIALOGUE

As the dialogue illustrates, community members responded favorably to the curriculum topics and engaged in honest dialogue about concerns. They found a safe place to experience: equality and respect; freedom of expression and the exercise of free will in talking about actions that they at least began to plan to execute; the preliminary steps in attaining unity, harmony, and interdependence, by beginning to dialogue about these concepts; and some degree of healing by coming together and perceiving connection to a whole. All of this is consistent with the guiding principles of the forum model offered by the indigenous African healer.

At the same time, the sample dialogue is only somewhat suggestive of the extent to which the community forum is a setting for healing collective wounds from the following: individual-, institutional-, and cultural-level racism; contemporary aversive racism; and the internalization of racism as evidenced by the reenactment of divide-and-conquer dynamics. All of this is consistent with what was emphasized by the clinician, myself, in co-creating the forum model.

More specifically, as shown through the sample dialogue, participants honestly shared the true self in the safe space of the community forum, focused on the crisis in their own community, and enjoyed social support and validation, consistent with the recommendation of Franklin

(2004). Participants responded to positive reinforcement offered by the facilitator in response to “change talk”—dialogue on intentions to take action (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Wallace et al., 2003). In sum, participants in the community forum emerged empowered, inspired, and intrinsically motivated to move toward taking action to address the concerns they raised.

CONCLUSION

This chapter described the rationale, guiding principles, menu of topics, and illustrative dialogue for a recommended community-level or group-level intervention designed to heal collective wounds from racism: the community forum intervention. The collaboration described in this chapter between a psychologist and a Chief Shaman in co-creating the community forum supports the contention that spirituality constitutes a powerful resource for practitioners—expanding possibilities for healing collective wounds from racism (Miller, 1999a).

Finally, it is legitimate to ask: “Is it possible to eradicate racism and heal collective wounds from racism in the century, if not in our lifetimes? And, if so, what will it take?” The answer is: Yes. But, it will take clinicians doing more—including the kind of collaboration described in this chapter with an indigenous healer that led to the innovation of the community forum model. However, there is a need for formal evaluation of the community forum model.

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PART III

Racism in Educational Settings

CHAPTER 8

The Impact of Racialized Schools and Racist (Mis)Education on African American Students' Academic Identity

KEVIN COKLEY

HAVING RECENTLY COMMEMORATED the 50th anniversary of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, scholars, educators, and pundits have offered numerous reflections on the meaning and significance of the decision, as well as critical commentary on whether the goal of racial integration in education has been met. The *Brown* decision declared that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal and unconstitutional. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the majority opinion, when he wrote that “segregation generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954).

With the declaration that separate was inherently unequal, it was assumed that desegregation and integration would result in African American students having equal opportunities under the law to receive the same quality of education as their White counterparts. It was also assumed that simply removing the legal sanctions of segregated education would instill African American students with the feelings and beliefs that they were not inferior to their White counterparts. In short, the dismantling of segregation was supposed to create feelings of equality

among African American students. Has desegregation been the panacea that many people thought it would be? In numerous discussions that I've had with African Americans of varying ages, I have heard the sentiment that desegregation has not been the solution for providing African Americans a quality education. In my opinion, while desegregation was ultimately the right thing to do, it also made African Americans more susceptible to negative messages about their academic and intellectual abilities. In this way, desegregated schools facilitated the racialization of African American students. Racialization includes processes by which racial beliefs are "transformed into active instruments of categorization and judgment" (Jones, 1997, p. 358). Racialization gave meaning to what society dubbed as racial differences. Ironically, desegregated schools became highly racialized spaces where African American students have constantly dealt with perceptions about their so-called inadequacies and pathologies. Thus, schools wield a tremendous amount of influence in shaping how African Americans see themselves.

PURPOSE OF SCHOOLING

Outside of the family, schools are among the most important socializing institutions in our society. Beginning in kindergarten, on average we spend 7 hours a day, 5 days a week, 4 weeks a month, and 9 months a year, which amounts to over 16,000 hours of school. That does not include the 4 years of college (or in some cases 5 or 6 years of college), plus the years of graduate and professional school that many of us pursue. We spend a significant amount of time in classrooms, where we are taught the academic and presumably critical thinking skills that we will need to successfully negotiate the world around us. Any segment of our society that is struggling to acquire these academic skills becomes a matter of concern, particularly as we become an increasingly globalized society, where strong reading, writing, mathematical, and analytical skills are essential for the workplace. Going to school and getting an education is believed to serve the common interests of society in three areas: (1) fostering the development of skills in literacy, numeracy, and the humanities; (2) instilling citizenship skills and teaching democratic values; and (3) providing accurate historical overviews of the nation, continent, and the world and documenting the contributions of all ethnic groups (Lee, Lomotey, & Shujaa, 1990).

A strong argument can be made that schools have largely failed African Americans in all of the aforementioned areas. For example, while the gap in reading scores between African Americans and Whites decreased

slightly in the 1990s, data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) show that only 56% of African American eighth graders have basic reading skills compared to 85% of Whites; and only 13% of African Americans are reading proficient compared to 42% of Whites (E. Gordon, 2004). The gap in scores between African American and White students of every age group is greater in almost every NAEP subject area than it was in the late 1980s (D. Gordon, 2002). While schools broader purposes are to instill citizenship skills and to teach democratic values, it can be argued that they really serve to indoctrinate and produce obedient citizens who are socialized to support the power structure and not challenge the status quo. Macedo refers to this process as “education for domestication” (Chomsky, 2004, p. 5). This process is not only germane to African Americans. As Chomsky discusses, the refusal of a 12-year-old (presumably White) student to recite the Pledge of Allegiance because of what he believed to be hypocrisy was mind-boggling to teachers and administrators because of the deep level of indoctrination that takes place in schools (see Chomsky, 2004, for an excellent discussion of this point of view).

EDUCATION OR SCHOOLING?

Mwalimu Shujaa has observed that the community of African-descended people in the United States makes a distinction between education and schooling (Shujaa, 2003). Shujaa notes that while it is often assumed that getting an education is the by-product of going to school, people of African descent understand that schooling “can both serve as well as betray their interests” (Shujaa, 2003, p. 245). Shujaa defines schooling as “a process intended to perpetuate and maintain the society’s existing power relations and the institutional structures that support those arrangements” while defining education as a “means of providing for the inter-generational transmission of values, beliefs, traditions, customs, rituals, and sensibilities along with the knowledge of why these things must be sustained.” Schooling thus simply becomes education for domestication. Shujaa goes on to say that “Through education we learn how to determine what is in our interests, distinguish our interests from those of others, and recognize when our interests are consistent and inconsistent with those of others” (p. 246). If African American students can go through years of schooling without learning more about who they are and how they are going to use the training and knowledge they received to make life better for other African Americans, the socializing functions of a non-emancipatory and hegemonic schooling (or training as Carter G. Woodson, 1933, called it) have been achieved. However, predictably the media,

scholars, and educators have not focused on this issue as an educational crisis. Instead, the most pressing educational issue is framed as closing the racial achievement gap.

CLOSING THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP

Fifty years after the *Brown* decision, while we commemorate desegregating schools, the most talked about educational issue in educational and political circles is undoubtedly closing the achievement gap. We have all heard about it. By the time African American and Hispanic/Latino students get to the 12th grade, they can only do math and read as well as the average White eighth grader (E. Gordon, 2004). The average high school graduation rate for African Americans and Latino students hovers around 50 to 55%, while for White students the rate is around 75 to 80% (E. Gordon, 2004). There are persistent and intractable differences in standardized test scores and practically every academic indicator. In their controversial book *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning*, Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom (2003) write that there is something about the lives of Black children that limits their intellectual development. Abigail Thernstrom said in the *Boston Globe* that the average Black student entering college has the skills of an eighth grader (A. Thernstrom, 2004).

No other racial or ethnic group has received as much attention about its educational struggles as African Americans. In his 1897 essay "Strivings of the Negro People," W. E. B. Dubois asked a simple but provocative question "How does it feel to be a problem?" He says:

Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, how does it feel to be a problem? They say, I know an excellent colored man in my town; or, I fought at Mechanicsville; or, do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, how does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word. (Dubois, 1904)

The achievement gap has become a code word for dealing with the problematic African American student, and by extension, Black culture. Every African American student spends most of her or his academic life being problematized if they struggle academically, or being exceptionalized if they experience academic success, because academic success is not

intrinsic to Black culture. How does it feel to be a problem? How must it feel knowing that every time you walk into a classroom, you are unconsciously (and sometimes consciously) consigned to a status of academic and intellectual inferiority? If we again consider that we spend over 16,000 hours in the classroom by the age of 18, how strong and resilient must an African American student be to constantly combat and resist the internalization of these racist messages? I've struggled with these messages myself, carrying with me the burden of my socially ascribed race, always feeling as though my academic performance as a student, or my intellectual output as a scholar, made some social and political statement about the capabilities of all African Americans.

Forty years after the *Brown* decision, the journalist Ellis Cose (1994) wrote that researchers often assume that cultural messages about Black inferiority have no impact on intellectual development because there is no scientific way to quantify their effects. What if cultural messages about Black inferiority do impact intellectual development? Cose asks "How can we control for the effects of environment when being identifiably Black in America automatically puts one in a different environment than Whites?"

Frankly, this is a question that most psychologists never address in our research methods training. When I teach students about the challenges of conducting multiethnic and multicultural research, I often discuss the problems of conducting comparative research. When comparing any two ethnic groups on a particular dependent variable, even if they have been matched on all seemingly relevant variables such as education, income, socioeconomic status, professional status, age, geographical location, and so on, you can never fully control for the effects of culture, race, and racism (see Azibo, 1988; Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; and S. Sue, 1999, for excellent discussions on the challenges of conducting ethnic research).

As we saw a few years ago in Diane Sawyers' Primetime special (1993) on race and discrimination involving two men—one African American and one White—with similar educational backgrounds, socioeconomic status, and credentials, there were profound differences in their experiences with trying to buy a car, trying to rent an apartment, trying to shop in a department store, and trying to get a job. In a number of instances, the African American man was quoted a higher price for the car than his White male counterpart; was told that there were no available apartments for rent while his White male counterpart was offered an apartment immediately afterward; was followed around in a department store while his White male counterpart was not; and was turned down for a job while his White male counterpart, with the exact same credentials, was offered the job. What effects do these racist microaggressions have on the psy-

chology of African Americans? What do you tell an African American student who, as I recently encountered, expressed concerns about her identifiably "ethnic" name because a recent study (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) showed that applicants with ethnic sounding names were less likely to get a job interview than applicants with nonethnic sounding names? In the educational realm, how do we measure racist microaggressions against African American students, and how do we assess the accumulation of their effects on the psychology of African American students?

HIGH SELF-ESTEEM OR INFERIORITY COMPLEX?

I have argued, and research has shown (Cokley, 2002, 2003; Cokley, Komarraju, King, Cunningham, & Muhammad, 2003; van Laar, 2000) that the motivation and academic self-concept of African American students differs in important ways from European American students. Returning to Chief Justice Earl Warren's statement that "segregation generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone," an important psychological question is "do African American students suffer from an inferiority complex?" Paradoxically, this is both an easy and complicated question to answer.

On the one hand, research would suggest that the answer is no (Cokley, 2002; van Laar, 2000). If self-esteem is an indicator of an inferiority complex, most empirical studies involving African Americans and European Americans show that African Americans are usually equal or higher in self-esteem, despite their relatively lower academic performance. Grade point average tends to not be related to the self-esteem of most African American students, contrary to the findings among many European American students. This finding has been supported by several researchers (e.g., Cokley, 2003; Graham, 1994; van Laar, 2000). In a further clarification of the meaning of self-esteem among African Americans, Hughes and Demo (1989) state that African Americans do not lack in self-esteem because of relationships with family, friends, and community. They argued that Black self-esteem is insulated from racial inequality because of this system of relationships; however, they argue that while high in Black self-esteem, Blacks' sense of personal self-efficacy is compromised because of experiences in racial inequality. From this perspective, it can be argued that African American students do not suffer from an inferiority complex.

On the other hand, what if the measurement of self-esteem is not sensitive enough to detect the presence of a deep-seated, unconscious inferiority complex? What if the high self-esteem of most African American

students comes from reinforcement in nonacademic domains? What if the cultural messages of Black intellectual inferiority were internalized on an unconscious level and resulted in African American students feeling little confidence in their ability to do math, statistics, or science? What would this look like? Could years of cultural messages of Black intellectual inferiority result in African American graduate students avoiding empirical research, especially quantitative research? Could internalization of negative cultural messages, combined with other factors (Allen, 1992; Nettles, 1988), impact African American students' majors and career choices?

Additionally, the way many African American students reflexively dismiss all standardized tests is very instructive here. Consider how guarded African American students are when they talk about their SAT scores, GRE scores, MCAT scores, LSAT scores, or IQ scores. In many instances, they become uncomfortable, as if that score reveals some negative hidden secret about their intelligence and ability and that, ultimately, they are impostors undeserving of the education they are receiving. Because of standardized test scores, African American students often have to defend their right to even be in school and receive an education.

STEREOTYPE THREAT

The Stanford social psychologist Claude Steele has revealed a very interesting psychological phenomenon about the performance of African American students on standardized tests (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). While some believe that so-called racial differences in test performance suggests innate, genetic differences in intelligence and ability (Jensen, 1973; Rushton, 1997), Claude Steele has conducted a series of experiments that show that there is another, more compelling reason for the differences. He has identified a phenomenon, which he calls stereotype threat, where individuals of a certain group will underperform on these tests relative to their abilities because of their fear of confirming the stereotype. In other words, students who belong to groups that are stereotyped are likely to perform less well in situations such as standardized tests in which they feel they are being evaluated through the lens of that stereotype. Although this phenomenon is more prevalent with ethnic minorities and women, it can occur with any individual who is in a group that is being stereotyped. In Steele's experiments, he took a group of African American students and White students at Stanford, and matched them on objective academic criteria. He took students who were equally prepared and had equal skills. He then had one group of high achieving African American and White students take a very challenging

literature section of the GRE. When the students were told that the test measured verbal ability, African American students did not do as well as White students. He then took another group of high achieving African American and White students and gave them the same challenging literature section of the GRE. This time, the students were told that the tests do NOT measure verbal ability. Instead, they were told that the test is something used to study problem solving in the laboratory and is not diagnostic of ability. This time there were no significant differences in the students' scores. These findings have been found in numerous experiments under different conditions. You see the same phenomenon with women and math. The point is that we have scientific evidence that different performances on standardized tests often times can be explained by social psychological processes, in this case stereotype threat, rather than some notion of intellectual inferiority. This type of research needs to be shared with African American students to empower them and to help them not internalize notions that they are intellectually inferior.

BELIEFS ABOUT BLACK INTELLIGENCE

On the matter of intelligence, given the social stigma attached to blatant racists, very few credible scholars and educators would publicly state that people of African descent are genetically less intelligent. In a survey of over 1000 IQ experts, Snyderman and Rothman (1988) found that the majority of experts on intelligence and intelligence testing agree that genetic inheritance accounts for part of the Black-White differences in IQ. In a recently published article, Rushton and Jensen (2005) argue that the IQ difference between Blacks and Whites has not narrowed, and that the difference is due to differences in brain size more than stereotype threat and racism. However, with the exception of scholars such as Arthur Jensen and Linda Gottfredson, most experts privately hold beliefs about racial differences in IQ and would never share them publicly (Gottfredson, 1994).

We have to be honest that despite the good intentions and the commitment to social justice that many liberal-minded scholars and educators share, these same scholars and educators teaching African American students (and other students of color) may be privately critical of what Gottfredson (1994) calls an "egalitarian fiction," or the belief that racial-ethnic groups never differ in average developed intelligence. Gottfredson, a very prominent and highly cited researcher on intelligence, fairness in testing and racial inequality, argues that enforcing an egalitarian fiction hurts Blacks by producing negative racial stereotypes that result from a denial of the obvious role of intelligence in important insti-

tutions such as the public schools, higher education, and high-level executive work. Gottfredson boldly stands by her assertions in the name of science that is not beholden to sociopolitical agendas. However, while Gottfredson has no angst about her beliefs, in the deep recesses of some very progressive minds, individuals privately struggle with notions of racial differences in academic ability. To entertain or acknowledge this, even privately to themselves, would seriously damage their social justice self-concept and potentially cause them to decompensate into an existential crisis of identity (D. W. Sue, 2003). Gottfredson further argues that this intellectual form of political correctness (my words, not hers) has resulted in self-censorship and a refusal to make connections between subspecialties (e.g., intelligence research and employee productivity). Although Gottfredson and others of her ilk are quite open about their beliefs about race and intelligence, others would never publicly share these beliefs. An interesting research study would be to identify educators who privately share these beliefs and examine how they approach teaching and mentoring African American students. Relatedly, it would also be interesting to see how African American students perceive and experience these educators.

NOTIONS OF CULTURAL DEFICIENCY

Given the politically charged and publicly unacceptable view of racial differences in intelligence, a more socially acceptable explanation that has received widespread support is the cultural deficiency explanation. In short, the cultural deficiency explanation has taken on several permutations. The most popular manifestation of this line of thinking can be most attributed to Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu (1986), who argued that the burden of acting White and an oppositional culture and collective identity were largely responsible for the differences in school performance between African American students and White students. This idea has resurfaced in McWhorter's (2000) book *Losing the Race: Self-Sabotage in Black America*, which argues that an ethos of anti-intellectualism permeates African American culture. Most recently, the cultural deficiency explanation has been voiced by Bill Cosby, who criticizes poor parenting, unwed mothers, men engaged in criminal activities and impregnating women, misplaced priorities, poor English, and illiterate millionaire athletes for betraying the legacy of *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Arguably, the scholar who has wielded the most influence in this arena is John Ogbu.

Despite his earnest attempt to challenge blaming the victim and culture of poverty deficit theories, some would argue that nonetheless

Ogbu's analysis is rooted in a blaming the victim and deficit model of African American culture. To be fair to Ogbu, his work has not always been fairly critiqued. Foley (2004) points out that Ogbu's work has often been used and abused by conservatives and liberals to promote their own sociopolitical agendas. For example, Foley says that it is not accurate to characterize Ogbu as a deficit thinker because Ogbu believes that the dysfunctional aspects of African American culture are adaptations to the destructive legacy of racial oppression and not inherent cultural traits. Foley's attempt to rehabilitate and rescue this underlying premise of Ogbu's work is notable. However, let us not be misguided. Deficit theories assume that the people in question have problems to be solved, and they draw correlations between the levels of educational achievement and the amount of motivation of the people and their culture (Claveria & Alonso, 2003). In short, deficit theories don't discriminate between notions of dysfunctional adaptations or lack of inherent cultural traits. Whether mutable or immutable, the fundamental belief is that there is a deficiency in African American culture. Lundy (2003) argues that the belief that Black culture needs to be altered is essentially a culture-of-poverty argument. Simply put, a rose called by any other name is still a rose.

In defending his work from charges of blaming the victim, Ogbu stated that his work is not politically correct (Burdman, 2003). By that, presumably, he meant that any analysis that locates the cause of African American students' underachievement in (a) the attitudes and behaviors of the students themselves and (b) the lack of appropriate guidance and support from their parents will automatically be viewed as blaming the victim. Ogbu argued that by virtue of his anthropological training, he does not think that any culture or language is superior to any other culture or language. Therefore, the language that is spoken in the homes of many Black students, Ebonics, was not viewed by Ogbu as inferior. However, Ogbu, like many African Americans, believed that to be successful and accomplish certain goals in this country means that one has to adopt the norms of White culture. Ogbu believed that Blacks could instrumentally adopt the norms of White culture without losing their Black identity. To the extent that Black students do not adopt the norms of White culture, Ogbu believed that Black students are contributors and participants in their academic shortcomings.

A comprehensive critique of Ogbu, McWhorter, and Cosby that provides an analysis of the problematic nature of their assertions is beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that all three seem to lack a very sophisticated understanding of how the society that we live in and the schools that we are educated in fail, both literally and figuratively, African American students. I mention them only to provide the psychological and

sociocultural milieu that faces African American students, where analyses for their educational underachievement fall solely and squarely on their shoulders, with no mention of how culturally irrelevant curricula and culturally insensitive teachers combine to negatively impact the intrinsic motivation and academic identity of African American students.

CRITICAL INCIDENTS OF THE EFFECTS OF RACISM

It is not always easy to document the effects of racism at the individual or institutional level because of the attributional ambiguity often surrounding each critical incident. For example, consider the importance of mentoring relationships. In my own graduate experience, I can recall that several doctoral students in my cohort had developed close relationships with faculty. These close relationships resulted in informal research teams, which resulted in numerous opportunities for these students to make presentations at conferences and publish in journals. As I observed these wonderful opportunities, there was one consistent observation that I made: The majority of the students were White, and all of the faculty were White. As much as I tried to deny it, I could not help but become envious of the opportunities of my White classmates and other fellow students as I reflected on my perceived lack of similar opportunities. Sadly, years after this observation, I continue to have conversations with African American students who report similar experiences.

When certain students are getting opportunities to publish or present with faculty, some African American students may see this as an example of a racialized environment that caters to students from certain racial or ethnic backgrounds and is unsupportive of the career development of African American students. Not being asked to be a part of research opportunities can stigmatize African American students by activating feelings of racial self-doubt. As an African American student once told me, she was never asked to join any research team, and she wondered if it had anything to do with doubts about her ability as a Black woman. This was one of several experiences that contributed to her not pursuing a research-oriented career in academia.

Although incidents such as these happen frequently, it is difficult and perhaps inappropriate to label them racism proper. Because of the attributional ambiguity of situations involving individuals of different races, African American students never really know why they aren't exposed to certain opportunities, or why faculty may not mentor them as actively and enthusiastically as non-African American students. They suspect it may be racism, but short of something demonstrably racist they can never be 100% certain. This constant state of not knowing can eventually

take its toll on African American students, sapping their enthusiasm and motivation for the educational process. Given the parameters of racism as defined by scholars such as Jones (1997), these incidents may not meet the definitions of racism *per se*. However, they represent cases of the benign neglect of African American students, which in some ways is equally as detrimental to African American students because it has the psychological effect of causing African American students to passively accept their treatment and to not expect the level of mentoring that their peers are receiving.

To complicate matters even more, subtle racial dynamics in interracial advising or mentoring relationships can undermine or compromise the ability of professors to provide critical feedback that could facilitate an African American students' self-efficacy in areas such as research. As Cohen, Steele, and Ross (1999) point out, the ability to provide scholastic feedback that is potentially threatening to ethnic minority students becomes a dilemma given the negative stereotypes that exist about certain racial minority groups' intellectual capabilities. These situations also create an attributional ambiguity whereby students do not know whether the lack of invitations to be a part of research teams and the critical feedback from a mentor are because of academic shortcomings or racial bias.

In an experimental study, Cohen et al. (1999) compared the responses of Black and White students to critical feedback about a writing task. Students were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: (1) unbuffered criticism, where a reviewer provided a general critique of the student's performance using statements such as "your letter was vague and rambling—long on adjectives and short on specific illustrations"; (2) wise criticism, where the aforementioned general critique was prefaced by comments such as "the comments I provide are quite critical but I hope helpful . . . based on what I've read in your letter, [I think] you are capable of meeting the higher standard I mentioned"; and (3) positive buffer, where the aforementioned general critique was prefaced by such comments as "Overall, nice job. . . . You have some interesting ideas . . . and make some good points. . . . I've provided some specific feedback and suggested areas that could be improved." Consistent with the hypotheses, results indicated that Black students receiving unbuffered criticism rated the reviewer more biased than White students. Also consistent with the hypotheses, when the critical feedback was accompanied by the combination of high standards and assurance, Black students rated the reviewer as less biased than did the White students. There was not a significant difference in the positive buffer condition. This study underscores the challenges White mentors face when providing critical feedback to African American students, with the implications being that critical feedback is more likely to be positively received by African American students when

it is placed in a context of high standards and the mentor's belief that the student has the capacity to reach them. It can easily be seen how critical feedback can be perceived by African American students as a racist slight. This contributes to the difficulty for African American students of knowing when feedback is racially motivated versus when it is not.

In a book examining personal accounts of racialized and racist experiences of graduate students and faculty, Milner (2004) describes the graduate school experiences of African American students as often unsupportive, alienating, and tense. He recounts a conversation with an African American doctoral student who was unhappy in the program she had only been enrolled in for a few weeks. Milner describes her as fighting back tears while her voice was cracking in describing the emotional strain she was under in the program. Milner goes on to say that this was not the first time an African American student had expressed these sorts of feelings to him.

(MIS)EDUCATION: THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

The aforementioned issues of schooling, the achievement gap, internalizing racist notions of Black intellectual inferiority, and critical racialized or racist incidents all represent interlocking themes that represent the greatest educational challenges facing African American students. Each theme is a necessary component to understand the educational challenges facing African American students, but no theme can stand on its own as the most important theme. For example, the urgency felt by educators and politicians to close the achievement gap can be seen in President Bush's *No Child Left Behind* (2001) initiative. Closing the achievement gap only demonstrates that African American students have achieved the same academic skills as their European American (and Asian American) counterparts. While racialized and racist incidents are deplorable and deserve our condemnation, they also serve to remind African American students that White supremacy is still alive and, ironically, to facilitate a level of Black consciousness and community that might not exist otherwise. These themes all combine to result in the *miseducation* of African American students. The product of miseducation for African Americans includes individuals (a) who are driven by materialism, (b) who do not question the hypocrisy of America's tenets, (c) who blindly embrace rugged individualism, (d) who believe that racism is no longer a problem for African Americans, (e) who do not have strong feelings of pride and belongingness toward people of African descent, (f) who feel no sense of responsibility for other African Americans, and (g) whose hopes and dreams are circumscribed by the messages they receive about their abilities. The implications of this miseducation were discussed over 70 years

ago when Carter G. Woodson said, "The large majority of the Negroes who have put on the finishing touches of our best colleges are all but worthless in the development of their people" (Woodson, 1933, p. 2).

I'm arguing that the most important educational crisis that faces African Americans is combating years of miseducation that end up producing individuals who are strangers to the communities from which they come. Black folks (and I suspect other folks as well) have always been concerned about the elitism and the social distance that education often creates between the highly educated and the uneducated or undereducated. As I was pursuing my education, my mother would always remind me to not forget where I came from. This was her attempt, I believe, to keep me humble and connected to my family and modest upbringing. I can fully appreciate now the importance of her message. While it may be a false dichotomy, the reality is that the pursuit of higher education often creates tensions with those who we have left behind. Chomsky (2004) argues that "once you are well educated, you have already been socialized in ways that support the power structure, which, in turn, rewards you immensely" (p. 16). If, on being "educated," we forget about the struggle of our people, or we develop a rugged individualistic philosophy that minimizes the impact of external factors on the outcome of people, the observation by Chomsky and the concerns of the less educated in our communities are valid. It is this tension that I think has not garnered enough intellectual scrutiny. I believe that there is, and always has been, a fundamental concern among African Americans that the pursuit of education not result in an existential disconnection from our families, from our communities, and from our people. Until we truly understand this dynamic, we will never understand the psychology of African American students or the Black communities that many of them come from.

The quintessential question then becomes what should be the purpose of education for African Americans, if not all people? Is the current educational experience designed to produce the types of individuals that Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. Du Bois warned us about? Woodson's commentary that on the completion of their education Negroes are equipped to begin the life of an Americanized or Europeanized White man is as relevant in 2005 as it was in 1933.

STRATEGIES TO COMBAT EFFECTS OF A RACIALIZED ENVIRONMENT AND RACIST (MIS)EDUCATION

Given this survey of issues that overtly and covertly impacts the intrinsic motivation of African American students, there are several strategies that educators can use to increase their awareness of the impact of a racialized

and racist miseducation on African American students and to help eradicate the effects of these environments. I believe that in many instances faculty, particularly White faculty, are simply unaware of how challenging and culturally incongruent educational environments can be for African American students. Thus, for faculty who are genuinely concerned about the educational experiences and academic achievement of African American students, I recommend that faculty read books that give voice to African American students who feel inhibited in expressing their experiential and cultural reality. Two good books to read are *Journey to the PhD: How to Navigate the Process as African Americans* (Green & Scott, 2004) and *A Long Way to Go: Conversations about Race by African American Faculty and Graduate Students* (Cleveland, 2004). For example, it is very powerful to read the personal narrative of one young African American female scholar who talked about the competing messages she received from her home and community environment versus her school environment, where collective communalism was fostered at home while a staunch individualistic competition was fostered in her school environment (Watts, 2004). Reading these types of books will raise the awareness of faculty who often lack awareness of how they unwittingly may contribute to an environment that is not culturally affirming or worse, hostile to African American students.

A second and related strategy for faculty is to critically reevaluate the entire teaching, research training, and mentoring environment as it relates to African American students. Does the curriculum specifically address issues pertaining to African Americans? Are contributions of African American scholars part of the required reading for classes? Are classes taught in ways that make the content meaningful and relevant to the lives of African Americans?

In terms of research training, I recommend that faculty reach out to African American students to give them opportunities to be involved in research. If professors have research teams, there should be a concerted effort to invite African American students to join these teams. Similarly, if professors are working on research projects, African American students should be asked if they would be interested in working on these projects. Professors underestimate the impact simple acts such as these have on the self-efficacy of African American students. I recall an occasion where I asked several African American students for feedback on a manuscript that I was preparing. I was met with complete surprise by their responses because they were flattered that I, a tenured professor, believed that they could provide me valuable feedback. While this was not an example of a collaborative research effort per se, it underscores the importance of communicating a belief in an African American student's ability to contribute, even in a small way, to a professor's scholarly activities.

Also, faculty (if they haven't already done so), could develop multicultural research interests and expertise that would be appealing to African American students. Through my conversations and experiences with African American students I have come to realize that an important factor that prohibits their pursuit of research experience is not being interested in or feeling connected to the research interests of faculty. While I am not suggesting that faculty should change their entire research programs to involve African American students, I am suggesting that some multicultural interests, and advertising these interests, will likely be more attractive for many African American students.

Finally, in response to Cohen, Steele, and Ross's (1999) research regarding the dilemma of cross-racial mentoring, faculty mentors should have expectations for African American students and communicate a belief in the ability of African American students to reach the high standards they have set for them. It is incumbent on educators to be knowledgeable about and sensitive to the history of racist beliefs about Black intellectual inferiority and to unequivocally express a belief in the intellectual capabilities of African American students. African American students, like all students, will not shun academically challenging work when an environment of high expectations has been created that provides the tools necessary for them to be successful.

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CHAPTER 9

“Nice Kids,” the N-Word, and Signs of Respect

Culturally Relevant Knowledge of Urban Youth

WENDY LUTTRELL, JAMES C. HOLLAND, AND JANIE WARD

IT IS THE first day back at school and students greet each other after the long summer break. Racial, gender, and sexual epithets—all spoken without apparent malice—punctuate students’ dialogue as they hail each other and renew their friendships. One teacher walking down the hall bristles every time she hears the “n-word” but remains silent. Another teacher calls out, “Hey, watch your mouth.” “Sorry, miss,” one student replies while another says, “Come on, that’s just the way we talk.” The two teachers exchange glances, and one says to the other, “You have to pick your battles.” A new high school year has begun.

What anxieties and emotions are tapped as teachers wrestle with their decisions about what battles to pick in their everyday interactions with youth? Why do teachers intervene with some students but not with others? Why do teachers intervene about some issues and not others, in some spaces, such as classrooms, more than in others, such as corridors? How do teachers struggle with issues of ethical responsibility—responsibility to the community, responsibility to the students, and responsibility to themselves?

These questions and concerns were raised by urban high school teachers participating in a 5-year research and curriculum development project called Project ASSERT (Accessing Strengths and Supporting Effective Resistance in Teaching). The primary goal of the project, which started in 2001, is to develop research-based professional growth materials that engage

teachers in dialogue and reflection about hard-to-talk-about issues, including racial, gender, sexual, and class-based disparities. Another goal is to provide teachers with strategies, support, and a forum for addressing the emotions and anxieties that get evoked as part of their role meeting the educational and developmental needs of their students. Such conversations are essential to the well-being of both students and teachers in urban schools, where increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the student population is juxtaposed with faculties that are disproportionately White and female, with little prospect of significant change in the immediate future.

Others have written about the need for teachers in urban schools to adapt culturally relevant pedagogy (Delpit, 1995; Foster, 1997; Irvine, 1990; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). The principles and propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy are based on research findings from studies of African American educators who are effective in helping Black children achieve success in schools (Delpit, 1995; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). There is an assumption in this literature that for Black students, the culture of school is often quite different from the culture of home and community. The lack of appropriate adaptation to these cultural discontinuities is said to contribute to student underachievement (Foster, 1997). Culturally relevant pedagogy speaks to the learning environment, teachers' instructional styles, curriculum design, and teacher-student interactions. Jacqueline Irvine (1990, p. xix) refers to "cultural synchronization" as the "correlation between teachers and students" in the "unstated rules and subtleties" of their common or unique cultures. Researchers identify specific teacher characteristics, which relate to cultural synchronization or culturally relevant pedagogy such as holding high expectations for Black students, seeing oneself as a surrogate parent ("othermothering"), possessing a willingness to augment the curriculum with content that is specific to the history and contemporary realities of Blacks and other People of Color (Ladson-Billings, 1994). These teachers believe it is their responsibility to advocate on behalf of students and challenge the status quo "by questioning and defying rules and regulations that are not in the best interest of their students" (Irvine, 2003, p. 56). Finally, educators who adopt culturally relevant pedagogies use personal and cultural knowledge and life experiences to inspire, motivate, and teach Black children how to navigate racism, prejudice, and bias.

We take the view that for teachers to adapt culturally relevant pedagogies they need to develop an insider's view of the school and community context, including a fuller awareness of youth cultural practices. Developing an insider's view is difficult and begins with identifying one's own take-for-granted (taken for granted or ingrained or intrinsic) assumptions and anxieties about life in the urban communi-

ties in which teachers teach. Finding a way to tap into these assumptions and anxieties through teacher discourse is what guided our research process.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The Project generated a wide array of teacher talk—drawn from ongoing teacher focus-group discussions, individual interviews with teachers about their career histories, and naturally occurring discourse gathered in classrooms and routine teacher meetings—used to examine the complicated dynamics of teaching across social, and explicitly, racial divides. In the first 2 years of the Project, co-principal investigators Wendy Luttrell and Janie Ward¹ convened a series of after-school focus groups with Boston-area teachers to investigate their perspectives about the pressing issues affecting the learning and development of urban youth. Transcripts from these monthly meetings, sustained over a 2-year period, form the primary basis of the Project's work in developing professional growth materials. We also gathered data from students including focus groups and individual interviews. Teachers from three schools participated in Project ASSERT discussions: two high schools and one public elementary school. At each of the high schools, a group of teachers met monthly for 2 years, and at the elementary school, the entire faculty met monthly for 1 year.

We were not surprised by the wide range of concerns teachers expressed about the influence of youth culture on school climate. The teachers spoke about concerns ranging from inappropriate language use to "improper" styles of dress (such as "do-rags") to some of the "X-rated," sexually provocative mannerisms that characterize male-female interactions at their schools. In offering examples of issues and situations when they did or did not intervene with students concerning language and dress, teachers spoke about their conflicts negotiating relationships in which dimensions of care and authority contend with aspects of racial and gendered identities for teachers and students alike. In some cases, teachers' sense of care and concern prompted interventions intended to build and strengthen relationships with their students, but, in other cases, the exercise of authority raised issues of power and control, and

¹Our cross-racial collaboration (Wendy is White and Janie is African American) has greatly benefited this research and curriculum development project as we have wrestled with our own reactions and assumptions throughout the project. Similarly, the Project ASSERT research team has been racially and ethnically diverse, which has provided continual opportunity for dialogue, disagreement, and, at times, avoidance of racial awareness and conflict.

these issues were especially charged when there were racial and/or gender differences between teachers and their students.

In analyzing our data, we have identified certain topics that serve as exemplars of the conflicts teachers wrestle with and that embody crucial aspects of teachers' exercise of care and authority in ways that may not always benefit their students. We offer two exemplars as starting points that allow us to surface teachers' assumptions and anxieties, and to question what teachers know about aspects of youth culture. These exemplars also focus attention on issues of teachers' ethical responsibilities for creating and maintaining a school community that supports the educational and social development of urban students. In discussing each exemplar, it is not our intention to determine the individual thoughts, understandings, or intentions of any particular teacher or student. Rather, we focus on the ways that certain discourses and patterns of interaction support or thwart a sense of connection and recognition between students and teachers, especially when symbols of youth culture are involved.

CASE VIGNETTE 1: THE "N-WORD"

"The Kids Use It Constantly"

Many teachers in the Project described the n-word as ubiquitous, a "filler word" that students used to "call everybody." As one White female teacher explained, "The kids use it constantly. It's like they almost didn't know each other's names, you know. And as a term of endearment, it's sort of strange because now and then they'd call me, they'd say, 'You're my nigger.'" Another White teacher agreed that use of the n-word is widespread among her students and added, "You know, for me, 'nigger' is not an acceptable word in the [class]room, and the kids use that with each other all the time. And they say to me, 'But you know, that's just how we talk to each other.'"

We saw wide variation in the ways teachers responded to students' use of the n-word. Many teachers, whether White, African American, or Latino, made a distinction between what kinds of language and behavior they tolerate from students in classrooms and what they tolerate in hallways. Both teachers and students acknowledged a difference between classroom culture, which is regulated more actively by teachers and their values, and hallway culture, which they saw as influenced more by students.

In general, the teachers who worked in the smallest school community in which we conducted the research were more likely to intervene in hallway spaces when they heard racial and sexual epithets. As one White female teacher noted, "A lot of teachers say something in the halls. I mean, I don't make a big deal of it, but just let the student know I heard that and I don't like it."

Another White teacher added that, for the most part, students respond well to this strategy: "They look honestly embarrassed, too, if they've said something that's really offensive and they see you there. They'll be like, '[gasps] I said that in front of a teacher?'" In this small high school setting, some teachers viewed the issue as part of

normal adolescent development. As one White teacher reflected, "They're very, very different by the time they're seniors than when they were freshmen. A change does happen. You don't hear that kind of stuff. They become much more gentle with each other." An African American male teacher agreed, but added, "I can see the kids mature, and that is a point that we have to grant . . . but again, we need to reinforce that it is not correct. I mean, 'nigger' is a very insulting word."

There was a different sentiment among teachers who worked in the large, comprehensive high school. These teachers were more reluctant to confront students they didn't know personally. Deciding when to pick their battles depended on their relationships with students and the support they could garner from administration. Explaining that she is more likely to intervene if she knows the student involved, this White female teacher explained: "If I hear an inappropriate swear word or cussing I will always call the student's name. I don't get into a big fight about it. I just say, 'So-and-so . . .'" [Then, the student replies,] 'Sorry, Miss.' And then it stops there." Another White female teacher described her experience as follows: "I used to intervene, and then I got so many threats and I got called so many names and I got no backup and I said, 'okay.' . . . And now it is hands off. But if it happens *in my classroom*, it's a little different" (*italics added*).

"My Classroom Is My Home"

In both high schools, teachers experienced the use of the n-word in their classrooms as problematic; yet interestingly, this was not an issue they had uniform strategies for dealing with nor one they had spoken about as a whole faculty. In reflecting on their practice, teachers often claimed classroom space as their own, associating it in particular with their "home," a place in which their position and authority were more secure. This association especially occurred when teachers justified their enforcement of classroom rules regarding the n-word. One White teacher explained her approach as follows: "[I tell my students,] 'I don't use that word, so I don't want it used here, okay? . . . Hey, you don't go to your grandma's house and call her a nigger. So don't come into my house and call somebody in here a 'nigger.' . . . Kids can't say 'nigger' in my room. They have to say 'neighbor.'"

In a pattern we noted in a number of our conversations with middle-aged, White, female teachers, this teacher views "home" as a female domain, where women ("your grandma and I") hold authority. She also claims her status as a White authority figure and her ability to serve as a role model in the socialization of predominantly African American children through her maternal (and therefore gendered) role.

"Passing Judgment"

Whether in hallways or classrooms, however, White teachers (who were mostly female, as reflects the urban high school teaching population) expressed more anxiety and self-doubt about interrupting the use of the n-word than did African American and Latino participants. Given that the teachers who volunteered to participate in this project were those who had previous experience with or were committed to discussing

diversity issues in their teaching, we found it especially striking that there was such internal conflict and uncertainty among the White teachers participating in the project.²

Questions about their position and authority hung in the air as White teachers exchanged their perspectives, struggles, and strategies. Although African American and Latino teachers often intervened without hesitation when students used the n-word, White teachers reported interventions that were much more selective and context dependent. One White female teacher summed up her concerns about how to discuss the n-word with her predominantly African American students as follows: "How much do I really know about this thing? Am I equipped to be someone who can give a [Black] child wisdom about this?"

Like the White teachers quoted earlier who believe that the n-word holds different meaning for teachers than for their students, the following two White teachers expressed concern about unfairly "judging" kids who use the n-word. This White female teacher echoed the belief that her classroom was her "home," but she wondered aloud about how "hard a line" she should take with her students and wrestled with her place and the potential impact of her actions: "This classroom is like my home and I spend a lot of time here. I just don't want to hear these words. Actually I don't want to hear them at home either. But maybe what I'm trying to say is, yes, I would like them to have a more respectful way of dealing with each other. But then, I'm not quite sure. Am I passing . . . (long pause)—maybe the judgment I pass is not entirely useful."

This teacher was not alone in questioning her impact or her moral authority as her students "step out of her classroom" (i.e., her sphere of influence). Still another White female teacher grasped for words as she described her conflict: "I don't correct students. I mean, I don't call students on that when I hear them calling each other 'nigger,' depending on the intention certainly. But I have not heard it used maliciously in the school, and I'm sort of in conflict with this. . . . It's so complicated. I feel like it's not my . . . (long pause)—I don't feel like I'm in a position to tell them whether or not they can use that word."

Concerns about how to exercise one's authority as a White teacher in racially, ethnically diverse settings and how to earn the trust of students with whom one does not share the same background were expressed by the younger and less experienced teachers with whom we spoke. That White teachers might worry about correcting or "passing judgment" on students' language use (whether Black dialect or the n-word) is part of a larger debate about the role of culture and power in education. Lisa Delpit (1995), author of the now classic book *Other People's Children*, offers one explanation for the reluctance of White teachers to intervene in certain situations. She notes that White, middle-class, progressive pedagogical views don't always help students understand what she calls "codes of power," the vocabulary and language skills that are necessary for academic success. When students use language in contexts that can limit their opportunities for development, Delpit (1995) would regard judi-

²There was obvious selection bias in the sample of teachers who volunteered to meet and talk about their concerns, and we do not mean to suggest that the views of the participating teachers represent all White teachers or all teachers of color. Rather, we were interested in hearing from those teachers who identified themselves as "urban educators" and who were concerned about the challenges of teaching racially diverse, urban students.

cious and respectful intervention not as an option, but as a responsibility and an obligation if teachers are to serve their students of color in the most effective way.

Our project suggests, however, that White teachers' discomfort has other sources as well, including feeling a lack of support from administration, a sense of alienation from kids they do not know, and anxieties about not feeling "equipped to provide a [Black] child wisdom about [contested cultural issues]." Interestingly, to exercise their authority about this issue, teachers claimed the classroom space as their "own"—either a "home" where as women they feel comfortable claiming authority or as a professional space in which they are the boss. Teachers spoke of wanting to avoid being seen as exercising their authority as a "White" adult. One teacher, who expressed great confidence in her ability as a math teacher, still worried that her race played a dominant role in her teaching practice. She said, "As a White educator, . . . I'm reinforcing the concept of White education by my appearance. Now that doesn't mean my actions can't say something else, but yet my appearance immediately, you know, speaks for itself."

During one teacher conversation, the group focused on an incident in which a Black student complained of mistreatment by a White teacher who constantly corrected his English in class. One White female teacher reflected on her strategies for dealing with this situation. She added a powerful shift in point of view at the end, reflecting the centrality of race in making these judgment calls: "If a kid was telling a story in class . . . I would not correct his grammar in class. But if I saw there were chronic issues—and I could see it in speech and see it in writing, I would say after class, 'Do you know, do you realize that you do that? Let's talk about that construction.' But I would not stop him in class. If I were a Black teacher, would I do that [wait until after class]? Probably not."

Although it is clear that there are many White teachers who are highly successful in working with students of color, conversations about race remain difficult and frequently go unspoken. It is essential to acknowledge the role that race plays in the strategies teachers use to impact the lives and learning of their students and to openly address any conflicts or discomfort teachers experience. It is in this spirit that we hear this White teacher imagining what she might do as a Black teacher. Skeptics might ask whether this sort of racial awareness improves her teaching practice. Perhaps not directly. But we suggest that, at the very least, opening up rather than avoiding discussions about the role race plays is a crucial starting place in teacher education and professional development.

CASE VIGNETTE 2: THE SEARCH FOR RESPECT

"Oh My God, They Changed"

The first exemplar raises questions about teachers' authority and responsibility in the school building, yet even in the building we have found that teachers sometimes perceive their roles differently depending on the location—classroom or corridor—and the socializing influences that operate in them. In a related example, a teacher describes her experience with students on a school field trip, where the shift in location from the school to the subway train serves as a catalyst for dissonant perceptions in the teacher and reinforces the differences between some students and their

teachers in their interpretation of symbolic behaviors, in this case, student dress and appearance.

Arlene, an experienced White teacher, related the following incident. Her tone and demeanor in presenting this narrative combined puzzlement, shock, and even disbelief:

I have a decent relationship with most of the kids, and we were on a class trip, and we were walking out of the building, and the kids were laughing, it was a fun thing, going to the T. We're good, we were like 80 or 90 kids and adults. We get on the T, before the kids even hit the T, we're going down the stairs, all of a sudden, the whole dress or the climate of the students, the male students in particular, hoods went up . . . and I'm looking around and I'm just saying, oh, my God they changed from these laughing, kidding-around kids to these big black hoods, do-rags whatever, side by side muscle type guys on the T, and I went over and I said, "What are you guys doing?" I said, "You look like a bunch of thugs, take the hoods off, take the do-rags off, let the ladies sit down." And they were right by the door, so everybody had to push by. We told them to move, move, move, and they're standing like a blockade, and one of them said to me, "This is respect. They're not near us for respect." I said, "No, they're not near you for fear." I said, "They're afraid of you," but they took this whole thing, and they thought everybody moving away from them was a sign of respect, like they were respecting who they were, and they didn't understand that people were afraid of them. That they thought they were thugs. There were women, and even men were afraid to sit near these kids, and they're nice kids, right?

Arlene's narrative raises several crucial issues about (a) teachers' assumptions and anxieties; (b) how teacher and student identities are situated in particular contexts; and (c) how available discourses, both literal and symbolic, shape and constrain options for interaction and understanding between teachers and students. Arlene offered this particular story as part of a larger teacher conversation about a perceived lack of respect and civility among students and between teachers and students, attributed, in part, to oppositional youth culture. From the way that she tells the story, we can infer that Arlene does not observe these particular student styles—hoods worn up, do-rags, "muscle type" stances—at school, or if she does, she feels comfortable asking students to change. On the field trip, she expects the students to behave as if they are still at school, and she is surprised when they do not.

At the conclusion of this narrative, Arlene looked at her colleagues and added, "and they're nice kids, right?" This question portrays starkly the contrast between the "nice kids" that Arlene knows on the basis of her interactions with them at school and the hooded strangers that she encounters on the train. Both Arlene and the students agree that the change in appearance is meaningful—yet they disagree as to the meaning. From Arlene's story, we can infer that the boys' behavior is, from their point of view, a response to the change in the environment, not a change in

their identities. The change in their appearance, however, disrupts the connection between Arlene and them, with the consequence that they become unrecognizable to her. She looks to her colleagues to affirm her knowledge of the boys themselves, despite the uncomfortable and contradictory feelings that their changed appearance has evoked. Marla, an African American teacher responds that these boys are, "Very nice, wonderful."

After relating how the very same boys used their knowledge of the subway system to keep her from getting lost, thus affirming their status as "nice," Arlene adds, "But on the T, if I walked in and saw them I'd be afraid to sit near them if I didn't know them. And they thought that was respect. They think this dress and this hood and this persona is how they gain respect, and they don't realize the negativity it has attached to everybody else who was boarding that T or looking at them." Arlene can see only the "negativity it has attached to everybody else," and she generalizes this response. It is not only the symbolic meaning of the dress and behavior that is contested here but also *the meaning of respect itself*.

Concern about the lack of respect in schools—between students, between students and teachers, and between teachers and administrators—was a familiar refrain across all the teacher discussions, a situation often called a "crisis of respect." The notion of a crisis of respect is not new. For 30 years, educators have been decrying a respect deficit, especially in urban schools. The crisis has been attributed to (a) structural factors, such as overcrowding or inadequate supervision; to uncaring or poorly trained teachers (Noguera, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999); (b) increased concentration and marginalization of low-income students; (c) a lack of social trust and the breakdown of the moral contract (Sizer & Sizer, 1999); and (d) oppositional youth culture or what Annette Hemmings (2003) calls a "youth culture of hostility born of poverty, police brutality, and violence." Although the teachers with whom we spoke agreed about the need for more respect, there was no agreement about the meaning of respect and the ways that it could be demonstrated, as this example shows.

In the discussion that followed Arlene's narrative, Lawrence, an African American teacher, suggests that the students' behavior could have a legitimate purpose, under certain circumstances: "They want their space respected for one thing, they don't want anyone invading their space, they don't want anyone approaching them, searching them, robbing them. They don't want to appear vulnerable. Those are the survival things they have to go through."

In this instance, Lawrence offers a perspective that frames the students' behavior in terms of a wider social landscape, one that recognizes that different situations elicit different behaviors. In linking the students' behavior to his own experience, as he also does, he adds a social-historical context to this behavior, with recognition that what is happening is linked to the legacy of African American men in American culture. Lawrence's perspective affirms the highly contextual nature of relations of respect, and that for many youth growing up in impoverished urban areas respect is a valued social commodity worth fighting for. To ensure respect, many students "front" types of masculinity and femininity that they deem necessary for survival (Dance, 2002). Students "need respect to garner the social status, esteem, and protection necessary to give them some sense of control over their lives" (Hemmings, 2003, p. 426).

By contextualizing the students' behavior in this way, Lawrence also reintroduces the issues of care and authority that underlie some of the teachers' conflicts. From the point of view of authority, teachers can exercise their power to regulate the language, style, and behavior of students in accordance with certain community standards. From the point of view of care, these same teachers can recognize their students' need to negotiate a wider world of symbolic behavior in ways that can reduce their vulnerability. Taking this wider perspective, what Rosalie Rolon-Dow (2005) might call an exercise of "critical care," Arlene might be able to view these changes in the boys' appearance without the frightening shock of the impression that "they" have "changed." Our research suggests that efforts to cultivate respect in school communities require more attention being paid to how teachers grapple with their assumptions and anxieties that are inevitably mobilized as part of their own understanding and place in these battles for respect.

CULTURAL INQUIRY AND TEACHER EDUCATION

Peter Murrell (2001), an experienced teacher educator, articulates the need for what he calls "cultural inquiry" as the basis of creating and sustaining a sense of community in a school. Our approach to cultural inquiry draws on Murrell's (2001) concept of community as composed of both individuals and groups that occupy multiple positions in relation to one another in terms of power, cultural knowledge, and social awareness. We use the concept as a means to engage teachers in identifying their own discourses and to examine the frames they are using to understand and interact with each other and with students. Engaging such a process as central to a school's mission makes it possible, Murrell says, for teachers to "know the depth and texture of the social landscape of the young people who go to their school" (personal communication, May 6, 2005). We suggest that the exemplars discussed and analyzed here allow for such a cultural inquiry—an exploration of teachers' complex and situated emotional responses to contested aspects of youth culture.

The goal of the conversations elicited by these exemplars is not to determine what a teacher should or should not do in a particular situation but rather to bring to the surface some of the unspoken dimensions of the relationships between teachers and students, and among teachers themselves. Rich Milner, also a teacher educator, has outlined the complexity of preparing teachers to meet the needs of diverse populations of urban students: "It isn't a bag of tricks, it isn't a skill you learn. It's about, every day, going in there and engaging in this level of inquiry, engaging in this level of research, so that you are able to go to the next level, every day" (personal communication, May 6, 2005). Milner (2003) advocates for the importance of teacher reflection about race *in specific*

cultural contexts, and as something that requires practice for both White teachers and teachers of color. His perspective is confirmed by our research and we agree that there is no recipe or set of instructions that will neatly resolve the conflicts and tensions inherent in working with urban adolescents. Instead, we advocate a form of cultural inquiry that rests on teacher reflection and dialogue, and that incorporates an understanding of the positionality of both students and teachers, the role of cultural symbols in reproducing social inequities, and the historical context of racially and ethically charged social interactions. Through such dialogues, a school can begin to create a legacy of practice that connects teachers with one another and with their students and that establishes a link between the past, present, and future that will enhance the experiences of urban adolescents at school. So, in the case of the n-word, the entry point of discussion is to tap the emotional immediacy of this issue (for both students and teachers) and to demonstrate the wide range of perspectives that individuals bring to bear. Before simple recommendations banning certain language at school, there is important knowledge to be gained, including engaging teachers and students in the complex distinctions drawn between the historical violence-stained use of "nigger" and the contemporary appropriation and empowerment that may be embodied in the use of the similar sounding "niggah." The same can be said about issues regarding youth hairstyle, dress, and deportment about which symbolic meanings teachers and students could explore together rather than focusing only on styles and mannerisms that divide.

WHAT TEACHERS KNOW

As education scholar Linda Darling-Hammond (1990) once wrote, "Teachers teach from what they know. If policymakers want to change teaching, they must pay attention to teacher knowledge [and make] investments in those things that allow teachers to grapple with transformation of ideas and behaviors" (p. 339).

We believe that the two exemplars explored in this chapter highlight teacher knowledge in its broadest sense, including what teachers know about themselves, their strengths, weaknesses, worries, and dilemmas in working with diverse urban youth. To the already clear body of culturally relevant curricula (Irvine, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995), we suggest that teachers participate in a cultural inquiry that allows for:

- Exploring the meaning of youth cultural practices (including language) and expressions of cultural agency (including dress, style,

- and participation in cultural/community organizations) so that teachers can learn more about students' everyday lives and struggles
- Surfacing, rather than covering over, teachers' conflicts that emerge in daily interactions and the role that teachers' multiple identities, positionality, and emotions play in the decisions teachers make and strategies they use
 - Rethinking the meaning and exercise of care, authority, and respect, paying attention to when, where, and how teachers claim (or abdicate) authority in their advocacy on behalf of urban students' social and academic development

To the extent that African American and Latino teachers hold a firmer sense of comfort or entitlement to exercise their authority to influence the socialization of racially diverse youth (as did the teachers in our research), this aspect of their cultural knowledge benefits their students. White teachers who do not share this comfort must be supported in gaining cultural knowledge, and sorting out their conflicts with the support of colleagues so that they can arrive at a place where they feel, in the words of one White teacher in these conversations, "empowered to influence students' lives."

But for all teachers, we wonder what it would take to redefine the source of their authority so that they would be encouraged to exercise it in new ways, moving from "This is me and my space, and you will do what I say," to "This is how we are going to create a respectful, cross-racial community, and we both have a stake in—and share responsibility for—doing so."

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CHAPTER 10

Racism and Racial Harassment in Schools

R. MURRAY THOMAS

THE EXPRESSION *racial* harassment or *ethnic* harassment means treating people in a hostile, disrespectful, and derogatory manner because of their racial or ethnic group identity or visibility. Racial harassment in school systems is deplorable, and steps need to be taken to understand and combat it. These steps consist of analyzing harassment in schools from the vantage points of five questions:

1. How does racial/ethnic harassment differ from other kinds of harassment?
2. What forms might harassment assume?
3. How does a school's social-interaction structure influence racial/ethnic harassment?
4. How is harassment influenced by demographic changes?
5. What approach to reducing racial/ethnic harassment can be inferred from answering these questions?

HARASSMENT—RACIAL AND OTHERWISE

Racial/ethnic harassment is only one of several kinds of taunting and bullying seen in schools. Other kinds do not derive from a person's race or ethnicity but, rather, from a person's socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, physical appearance, sexual orientation, cultural habits, social behavior, and more. Frequently, the ill treatment that people suffer is

Three veteran teachers with extensive experience in multiethnic schools contributed significantly to this chapter—Kathryn E. Thomas, Ann C. Diver-Stamnes, and Robert G. Thomas.

based not just on one characteristic that the harasser dislikes or deems personally unacceptable but on a mixture of several. In such cases, the task of untangling the influence of race/ethnicity from among a person's other features (e.g., social class, religion, and sexual preference) can prove impossible. Consequently, we can most confidently attribute harassing acts solely to racism when a harasser (a) mocks, taunts, or denigrates every member of a racial/ethnic group or (b) contends that all members of the group display some undesirable trait—stupidity, dishonesty, avarice, irresponsibility, selfishness, or the like. If only certain members of a racial/ethnic group are harassed but others are not, the dominant cause of the harassment is apparently not racism but some other characteristic that the harassed individuals share.

FORMS OF HARASSMENT

Harassment episodes can vary greatly, depending on the specific methods employed. Harassment methods—as the channels people use for expressing their animosity—can range from direct physical attack to anonymous innuendo, as reflected in the following five positions along a methods scale:

1. At the physical-violence end of the scale, assailants can directly assault members of a scorned racial/ethnic group. For example, a fifth grader of Chinese ancestry at Boardman Elementary School (Oceanside, New York) was teased by White schoolmates who cursed him, made fun of his ancestry, and pulled their eyelids outward to mimic a stereotype of Asian faces. A large classmate punched him, knocking him to the floor. Others pushed him down a staircase. On one occasion a group of Whites ganged up on him, shoving and kicking him while shouting racial taunts (Zirkel, 2005).

Physical violence often takes the form of racial gangs attacking each other. At Honolulu's Farrington High school in early 2005, a gang of ethnic Samoans (Hollywood's Finest Bloods) attacked a Filipino gang (Bisayan Boyz) in retaliation for "mobbing one of our friends." The school principal estimated that (a) there were more than 10 gangs at Farrington, many of them representing ethnic groups, and (b) between 10% and 15% of the school's 2,500 students were gang members (Fujimori, 2005).

2. More common than physical violence are direct verbal insults, such as name-calling and threats in face-to-face confrontations. In the case of the Chinese American fifth grader in Oceanside, New York, a White girl who was serving as a lunchroom monitor called the boy a "Chinese liar," accused his family of being "crazy," and warned

him to "go back where you came from... if you're still alive" (Zirkel, 2005).

3. A step away from face-to-face quarrelling are messages sent as scribbled notes, graffiti, phone calls, and Internet web sites or e-mails in which harassers reveal their own identity. They sign the notes or announce their own name.
4. At another step along the scale, unsigned notes, graffiti, phone calls, and the Internet can be used for issuing anonymous threats and insults. For example, a "hit list" that included racial slurs was written on the wall of a girls' bathroom at a high school in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, with 10 students and a teacher named as the ones to be attacked (Gedan, 2003). All students at Mounds View High School (Arden Hills, Minnesota) were sent home on the day officials found an anonymous note whose author threatened to bomb the school. The note contained racial references that worried African American parents whose children were members of a student population that was 84% White and 5% Black (Boyd, 2003).

A rapidly growing mode of anonymous harassment is known as cyber-bullying (i.e., using the Internet to assail members of disliked racial/ethnic groups). Cyber attacks can include:

Flaming: Sending angry, rude, or vulgar messages directed at a person or persons privately or to an online group.

Harassment: Repeatedly sending a person offensive messages.

Cyberstalking: Harassment that is highly intimidating or includes threats of harm.

Denigration (put-downs): Sending or posting harmful, untrue, or cruel statements about a person to others.

Masquerading: Pretending to be someone else and sending or posting material that makes that person look bad or places that person in potential danger.

Outing and trickery: Sending or posting material about a person that contains sensitive, private, or embarrassing information, including forwarding private messages or images. Engaging in tricks to solicit embarrassing information that is then made public (Willard as cited in Kennedy, 2005).

5. The least direct harassment consists of rumors, gossip, jokes, and accusations that are not expressed to members of the harassed group but, instead, are passed to other people who may then develop negative attitudes toward the harassed. Those attitudes may lead to bullying attempts by the people who heard the rumors, gibes, and accusations. By way of illustration, a fight between a group of White students and a group of Black students at Ithaca (New York) High

School was followed by a rumor that the Black students planned to beat up any White students who wore camouflage outfits to school. In response to the rumor, nearly 100 White students dressed in camouflage the next day. Several wore hats with the Ku Klux Klan symbol 3-11 (3 letters, and K as the 11th letter of the alphabet). One student was sent home for bringing a white hood (Schneider, 2004).

Rumors may also incorrectly place blame on a group that was not actually responsible for an act of presumed harassment. When a 17-year-old Black high school athlete was discovered hanged by a rope from a tree behind an elementary school in Bridgeport, Connecticut, rumors spread that he had not committed suicide but, rather, had been lynched by the White Wolves, a teenage White supremacist gang with a handful of members in the nearby towns of Stratford, Trumbull, Monroe, and West Haven. Even after an autopsy confirmed that the death had been a suicide, members of the Bridgeport community continued to suspect that the White Wolves had been responsible (Brundage, 2003).

INTENDED EFFECTS

Harassing can be intended to subject victims to physical harm, property loss, insult, intimidation, and reputation damage. The varieties of physical damage harassers seek to inflict can range from a painful slap to murder.

In a math class, a teacher called a Vietnamese boy to the front of the class to complete a problem on the chalkboard. As the boy walked to the front, a Haitian student stuck his foot into the aisle and tripped the Vietnamese classmate, who fell clumsily to the floor as the rest of the class laughed ("Bullying," 2005).

In Corona, California, a neighborhood that housed a small minority of Blacks and a large majority of Hispanics, a Black 15-year-old Centennial High School football player was chased into an apartment complex by three Hispanic youths who stabbed him to death. At the time, Centennial High already had a history of racial strife, including a brawl between Blacks and Hispanics the previous year that resulted in the school being locked down and a dozen students arrested. In recent weeks, racial tensions had accelerated, leading to a fight between Black and Hispanic students in the campus quadrangle. Rumors of mounting racial violence prompted some Black students to stay home on the Mexican Cinco de Mayo holiday out of fear that they would be targeted by Hispanic gangs (Byron, 2004).

Harassers also may vent their hostility by stealing objects belonging to their victims or by destroying or defacing property. At Rhodes College in

Memphis, Tennessee, racial slurs were scratched into the side of the auto of an African American woman student; the tires of another African American woman were punctured; and a racial slur was painted on the back of a college residence hall ("Rhodes Responds," 2002). On San Juan Island, Washington, vandals spray-painted swastikas and anti-Black and anti-Jewish slogans on walls, windows, and sidewalks at Friday Harbor Middle School. They also smeared graffiti over the artistically decorated Native-American house posts at Port of Friday Harbor. The three 17-year-old boys arrested for the deed were sentenced to 30 days in detention, 150 hours of community service, and a year of community supervision ("More Graffiti," 2005).

Calling people denigrating names is perhaps the most common device harasser's use in their attempt to insult members of a racial/ethnic group. It is typically considered offensive for anyone from a different racial/ethnic group to call a Jew a "kike" or a "sheeny," to call a Black a "nigger," to call a White a "redneck" or "White trash," to call an American Indian a "redskin" or "hatchet chopper," or to call an Italian a "dago," a Chinese a "chink," a German a "kraut," or a Mexican a "greaser." However, members of a particular ethnic group may, on occasion, apply to others in their own group a traditionally insulting label without the label being considered objectionable because it is received as a joke or a term of endearment. Hence, for name-calling to be regarded as offensive depends on who utters the name and under what circumstances.

As an example of name-calling that did indeed qualify as harassment, consider the lawsuit filed against a Marin County school district in Northern California. The suit concerned a basketball game in which a cheering crowd of White San Marin High School students, wearing Afro wigs, shouted "nigger" at Black players on the visiting Tamalpais High School team. The incident not only produced the lawsuit but also eliminated the possibility that the Tamalpais team would ever again be willing to play the San Marin team (Morgan, 1999).

Another form of harassment is intimidation. The attempt to intimidate others often consists of threatening them with dire consequences. The belief that a threat is an instance of racial harassment is strengthened whenever a threat is aimed at an entire ethnic group rather than only at one or two of its members. This distinction can be illustrated with threats in a pair of California high schools in early 2004. At Elk Grove High School, two students were arrested for plotting to shoot an African American classmate during the lunch hour. Although the police called the foiled attack a hate crime, school officials were reluctant to reach the same conclusion because it was unclear if the student was targeted because of race (Carreon, 2004).

In contrast, at the Jesuit Bellarmine College Preparatory School in San Jose, a 15-year-old boy was arrested for posting Internet threats to kill African Americans in general and, specifically, to lynch Blacks who attended Bellarmine. His arrest came after another student revealed the Internet messages to the school's dean of students, who then informed the police. The incident was a shock to school authorities, especially because the school's own web site advertised that Bellarmine Prep strove "to educate young men of competence, conscience, and compassion." In pursuit of the goal of compassion, one Bellarmine teacher used the 15-year-old's list of Internet threats as the foundation for a lesson on Christian ethics. A student from the ethics class who was shocked by the act later reported that the messages started in a lighthearted vein but then degenerated into bitter threats. A Latino class member said he was upset to learn that the menacing messages came from a Bellarmine schoolmate, and he feared that his own ethnic group could also be a target of such threats (Carreon, 2004).

Frequently, the purpose of a harassing act is to harm the reputation of a rival ethnic group, a practice sometimes referred to as *character assassination*. Such harm can result from a harasser applying a traditional negative ethnic stereotype to persons in the ethnic group who actually do not fit the stereotype. A study at culturally diverse Johnston High School near Chicago revealed that some White students denigrated academically successful Black students by accusing them of such stereotypical traits as using coarse slang and "improper English" and being disturbingly rowdy. Asian students associated all Hispanic students with a lack of motivation to do well in school and thereby supposedly limiting themselves to manual labor as a lifetime occupation (Kao, 2000).

SOCIAL-INTERACTION STRUCTURES AND RACIAL/ETHNIC HARASSMENT

The following view of how race/ethnicity is linked to harassment in schools derives from two propositions: First, each school has its own social-interaction structure. Second, the most useful definition of race/ethnicity is the definition constructed in the minds of a school's own inhabitants.

SOCIAL-INTERACTION STRUCTURES

For convenience of analysis, it is useful to recognize two ways of grouping students in schools—the administrative and the voluntary spontaneous. Administrative groups are those formed by school officials to facilitate the learning program. Students are assigned to grade levels, to classes,

and sometimes to “tracks” in a way intended to foster efficient learning. Voluntary-spontaneous groups are ones created by students themselves through informal social dynamics that produce a social-interaction structure that is more important than the administrative-group structure for understanding harassing in schools. The nature of a voluntary-spontaneous structure is discovered by (a) learning how students (and sometimes staff members) describe the student groups and (b) observing how students act toward each other.

WITHIN-SCHOOL DEFINITIONS OF RACE/ETHNICITY

Traditional terms from the past for identifying racial groups include such words as *Caucasoid*, *Mongoloid*, *Negroid*, and *Australoid*. But people today more often speak of *Whites*, *Blacks*, *Asians*, *American Indians*, and the like. For identifying ethnic or national-origin groups, most people use such descriptors as *Japanese*, *Irish*, *Russian*, *Javanese*, *Finnish*, and *Australian Aborigines*. There are also hyphenated descriptors—*African-Americans*, *French-Canadians*, and *German-Jews*. However, such expressions are not precise enough for the meaningful analysis of racial/ethnic harassment in schools. To understand the dynamics of race relationships in a particular school, we need to know the set of functional labels used by that school’s inhabitants for distinguishing among its racial/ethnic groups. The expression *functional labels* refers to how members of the school community describe the ethnic composition of their school’s students and staff members in their daily social intercourse. The importance of this functional labels approach lies in the conviction that people do not act toward each other on the basis of theoretical classifications of reality created by scholars but, rather, they act on the basis of their own perceptions of reality. Thus, what we need to learn about racial/ethnic harassment is how the school’s occupants—in their own minds and behavior—group themselves. The type and extent of harassing observed in a school depends on a variety of conditions, such as the pattern of the school’s spontaneous-voluntary groups and demographic change.

RACIAL/ETHNIC DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Inner-city Los Angeles schools are dramatic exemplars of demographic change and racial harassment. Consider two high schools—Jordan and Jefferson. In the 1980s, well over 50% of the students at Jordan were Black, with the remaining minority being chiefly Latinos, whom the Black students called Mexicans, regardless of where the Latino families had originated in Central and South America. But with the accelerating immigration of Latinos into the community, the school’s racial/ethnic proportions shifted, with the Latinos soon comprising an ever-growing

majority. This shift was accompanied by increased social tension and harassment between the two groups as the Black community resented the newcomers taking away jobs and leadership roles, which Black people had typically held.

Then there is Jefferson High where, in the spring of 2005, 2,000 students were in the football stadium for a noontime earthquake drill. When a Latino boy tossed a milk carton that landed near a group of Black football players, the Blacks demanded to know who had thrown the carton. A Latino replied, "Go back to Africa." As journalists later reported, the incident, which started as a 20-minute food fight, evolved into months of spontaneous tussles, premeditated thrashings, and at least two large-scale brawls between Jefferson's Black and Latino students. More than two dozen students were arrested, at least three were hospitalized, and hundreds more avoided the school and their classes out of fear (Banks & Shields, 2005).

The Jefferson brawls were, to a significant degree, the result of demographic change. By 2005, the Black/Latino ratio had shifted so markedly that Latinos, who had represented 31% of the Jefferson student body in 1980, comprised nearly 92% ($N = 3,547$) in 2005. Black students comprised 8% ($N = 305$). Half of the Latinos were immigrants, mostly from Mexico. Of the 747,000 students in the entire Los Angeles Unified School District, 72% were Latinos, 12% Blacks, and 16% others, such as Whites, Asians, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans (Banks & Shields, 2005). Racism had become so deeply embedded in the community that Black and Latino neighbors only interacted with each other to complain about each other or to fight with one another. Many Latinos living in predominantly Black neighborhoods reported that they were frequently robbed, beaten, and intimidated by their Black neighbors. Conversely, Black people living in the area complained about chickens in the yard, old cars on blocks, and harassment by Latino gangs (Banks & Shields, 2005).

AN APPROACH TO REDUCING HARASSMENT

One proposed method to reduce harassment consists of two stages: (1) collecting information and (2) creating learning activities based on the acquired information. The purpose is to provide a kind of learning activity that closely fits the racial/ethnic harassment conditions of the particular school that is seeking to cope with racial/ethnic problems.

COLLECTING INFORMATION

Racial/ethnic harassment episodes need to be collected in the school by means of (a) interviewing students and school personnel (e.g., teachers, administrators, counselors, bus drivers, and cafeteria workers); (b) ob-

serving students interacting with schoolmates, both in classrooms and outside; and (c) reviewing written accounts of past harassment cases at the school. Such episodes are incidents that have often occurred in the school (*typical episodes*) or they are incidents that were infrequent but resulted in unusually grave consequences (i.e., *critical episodes*, ones that caused serious injury, widespread fear, elevated inter-ethnic antagonism, and high monetary cost). The following sorts of information should be gathered about each type of episode:

- *Kind of harassment*: Which one or more forms of harassment are featured in the episode? Does the harassment consist of name-calling, fighting, excluding schoolmates from activities, telling insulting jokes, laughing at schoolmates' appearance, spreading rumors, issuing threats, or other forms?
- *Groups involved*: These groups are the kinds of spontaneous/voluntary social-interaction types described earlier in this chapter. The groups, their distinguishing characteristics, and their names can be discovered by interviewing students and by observing the clusters in which students gather before and after school, at lunchtime, at sporting events, at parties, at dances, and the like. The episodes should involve groups defined as racial or ethnic rather than ones based on socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, sexual preference, physical appearance, or such.
- *Settings*: Typical settings in which such harassment occurs should be identified, because some environments are more conducive to harassment than others; the kind of harassing that takes place can be affected by the setting. For instance, students are more apt to punch and openly taunt each other on the playground or in a bathroom than in a classroom or supervised hallway.
- *Initiating act*: What action set off the confrontation between the antagonists in the episode? Who started the distressing exchange and how? To what racial/ethnic group did the initiator belong?
- *Response*: Who was the target of the initiator's action? To what group did the recipient of the action belong? How did that recipient respond?
- *Outcome*: What was the immediate result of the episode for the initiator, the recipient, and others? What was the long-term consequence, or what might the long-term consequence be for the initiator, the recipient, and others?

CREATING LEARNING ACTIVITIES

The collected information is to be used for developing case descriptions in the form of narratives that can serve as the focus of student discussion

sessions, interviews, or written assignments. The writer of a case description will usually be a teacher, a counselor, or a high school student. The author's dual goal is to write a narrative that (a) is true to the particular school's racial/ethnic harassment conditions (i.e., forms of harassment, groups, and settings) but (b) does not antagonize or denigrate any specific groups in that school. To achieve this pair of purposes, the author accurately describes the school's conditions but substitutes a fictitious location for the school and invented names for its social groups. The hope is that when students discuss the case (a) they will recognize how similar their own school's conditions are to those in the case and they will therefore see the case's relevance for their school, and (b) they will not feel personally attacked because of the use of fictitious names and locations in the description.

The following pair of examples illustrates how cases might be written for two schools—an elementary school and a high school. When the case descriptions are written, nearly all of the original information about the two schools—the form of harassment, the social-group structure, and the setting of the harassment—remain unchanged. Only the school locations and group names are altered.

FOR A SMALL-CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (GRADES 5 AND 6)

The case is cast in the form a teacher might use when introducing a class discussion. The questions the teacher asks at the end of the case description are intended to confront class members with varied points of view toward the sort of harassment in the case so that the pupils can recognize and weigh the moral/social principles on which diverse viewpoints are based.

CASE VIGNETTE 1: ISLANDERS AND WHITES

Imagine a school in a town in the state of Washington, a school where there is trouble between two groups of kids. One group is known as the Islanders, because those kids' families originally came from various Pacific Islands—Samoa, Hawaii, Guam, Truk, Saipan. The other group is called the Whites. Those kids' ancestors originally came from Europe.

Here's an example of the kind of trouble you would find between the Islanders and the Whites. You remember that in our class we studied the Lewis and Clarke expedition. Well, fifth graders in this Washington school were also studying Lewis and Clarke. They had a 1-week project in which the class of 27 pupils was divided into five committees, each with four or five members. Every committee was responsible for reporting about one part of Lewis and Clarke's journey. One group would do a map of the trip, another would tell about the explorers' equipment, and a third would describe the kinds of people Lewis and Clarke met on their trip, and so on.

So, as the fifth graders were dividing themselves into committees, a girl whose family was Samoan tried to join the map committee, which already had three mem-

bers—two girls and a boy, all of them Whites. One of them told the Samoan girl, “Our committee’s full. There’s no room for you. Get another committee. You belong with your own kind.” (At this point, the teacher stops the description to pose questions to the class).

All right, we’ll stop here so you have a chance to tell what you think about what happened. First, what did the committee member mean by saying to the Samoan girl “your own kind?” (Various pupils offer opinions that the teacher summarizes). Do you think it was a good idea for the Samoan girl not to be on the map committee? (As pupils respond, the teacher presses them to tell why they did or did not think it was a good idea). Now, what different ways might the Samoan girl act after she is told to get on a different committee? (As pupils answer, the teacher lists the alternatives on the chalkboard). As you look at these things the Samoan girl might do, which one do you think would be the best, and which would be the worst? (As pupils express their choices, the teacher asks for their reasoning in support of such choices).

Finally, if the fifth-grade teacher in the Washington school learns that the pupils on the map committee wouldn’t accept the Samoan girl, what should the teacher do? And why should the teacher do that? (Pupils offer suggestions).

To close the session, the teacher asks various pupils what they think they learned from the discussion.

FOR A LARGE-CITY HIGH SCHOOL

Similar to the elementary school example, the case description would be in the form of a verbatim lesson plan in which the teacher describes the initial stages of a harassment incident and then poses questions for students to answer. The case might serve either (a) as the focus of discussion with an entire class, small group, or individual pupil or (b) as a written assignment requiring students individually to answer questions. It is also possible to combine the two approaches by having students individually write down their responses before engaging in a group discussion. Such a combined approach has the advantage of ensuring that all students seriously think about the issues involved before they participate in a discussion. The questions the teacher poses at the end are intended to elicit the participants’ opinions about why racial/ethnic harassment occurs and about potential ways of reducing taunting, fights, hatred, and fear.

CASE VIGNETTE 2: LUMBEEES AND PUERTO RICANS

The case we are going to discuss concerns conflict between two groups of high school students in a North Carolina city. One group is called Puerto Ricans, because the students’ families came from the island of Puerto Rico. The other group is usually called Native Americans. But sometimes it’s called the Lumbees, because the Lumbee tribe is the main Native American group in that region. Nearly 80% of the high school students are Lumbees. Almost 13% are Puerto Ricans.

Consider, now, an episode of conflict between the Lumbees and the Puerto Ricans. As students were hanging around the campus during lunch hour, a Native American boy tossed an empty soft-drink bottle at a trash can, but the bottle missed the can. Instead, it hit the leg of a Puerto Rican who was with some other Puerto Ricans from the high school soccer team. The boy who had been hit by the bottle yelled at the nearby group of Native Americans, "Hey, which one of you redskinners threw that bottle?" All right, we'll stop the case here because I want to ask your opinions. What do you think might happen after the fellow yelled "you redskinners"?

(The teacher, in response to each student who proposes that some sort of violence would likely occur or that antagonism and hatred would escalate, then asks . . .) Can you suggest a way the Puerto Rican boy could have acted that would have avoided the trouble you suggested? (Student answers). How could somebody go about getting him to act the way you suggested? (Student answers). Who might that somebody be? (Student answers. Then other students respond to the same questions).

Further questions the teacher could ask as the discussion progresses: What do you think would be the best way for the Native Americans to react to the Puerto Rican boy's challenge? Why do you think that's the best way? Who might be able to get the Native Americans to act that way? Are there any activities you can think of that might help the Lumbees and Puerto Ricans get along with each other in a friendlier way? Who could organize such activities? How would those activities improve the way the two groups get along?

CONCLUSIONS

Racial/ethnic harassment is a pervasive problem and occurs in schools from the elementary level through high school. The types of harassment vary in form, but the effects are nonetheless the same: Students are targeted, intimidated, and threatened based on their racial/ethnic designation. For educators and administrators to eradicate racial/ethnic harassment, they must first understand the unique needs of their school or school system. Shifting racial and ethnic demographics in the school and surrounding neighborhoods, historical circumstances of racism and racial tension, and region of the country where the school is located all affect the way that students form social groups and interact with one another. The case examples in this chapter provide a method for teachers to begin a dialogue with their students about racial/ethnic harassment in their schools. Although teachers may be reticent to broach such an emotionally loaded topic, facilitating conversations about racial/ethnic harassment in the classroom is a necessary first step to eliminating racial/ethnic harassment outside of the classroom.

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CHAPTER 11

Eliminating Deficit Orientations

Creating Classrooms and Curricula for Gifted Students from Diverse Cultural Backgrounds

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SINCE THE INCEPTION of gifted education, three groups, referred to in this chapter as underrepresented racial minority groups (URMGs; e.g., African American, Hispanic American, and Native American) have been persistently underidentified as gifted and, subsequently, underrepresented in gifted education programs. We recognize that Asian students are considered culturally diverse; however, they are seldom underrepresented in gifted education programs. As a result, they are not the focus in this chapter. Data indicate that these URMG's participation in gifted education range from 50% to 70% nationally (U.S. Department of Education, 1993). For more than 5 decades, equity-minded educators have addressed a central question: "How can we increase the participation of diverse students (URMGs) in our gifted programs?" In this chapter, we review factors affecting the chronic and pervasive underrepresentation of these students in gifted education programs and offer suggestions for recruiting and retaining such student populations. The major premise set forth herein is that a deficit orientation—thinking and behaviors—held by educators (e.g., teachers, school counselors, administrators, as well as the lack of understanding by many parents) hinder access to gifted programs for

URMGs. For example, this deficit thinking hinders the willingness, efforts, and ability of teachers, school counselors, and administrators to recognize the strengths of students of color. Deficit orientations often prevent educational professionals, such as teachers, school counselors, and administrators, from accepting any blame or responsibility for the deplorable educational outcomes of racial minority groups, including their underrepresentation in gifted education. Too often, educators interpret differences as deficits, dysfunctions, and disadvantages in students and their cultures. As a result, many talented students in these URMGs are referred to special education or basic education programs rather than gifted education. As gifted education scholars, we argue that teachers, school counselors, and administrators must move beyond a deficit orientation (e.g., deficit thinking and associated behaviors) to recognize the potential and strengths of URMGs (Ford & Moore, 2004b; Ford, Moore, & Milner, 2005). Changing negative orientations about differences among diverse students holds great promise for recruiting and retaining these groups in gifted education, as well as providing equitable and culturally responsive learning environments for them. "In spite of all the inequality, the daily stresses of living with the racism in schools, many young people, as well as the authors, still have this abiding hope that things well get better" (Henry Der, California Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction, as cited in Gordon, Piana, & Keheler, n.d.).

For over a half century, educational professionals, researchers, and policymakers have grappled with the persistent underrepresentation of racially diverse students in gifted education. Teachers are often surprised to find gifted students underachieving. They equate giftedness with achievement and productivity; they believe that gifted students should have high grades because their IQ or achievement test scores are high. Concomitantly, when students with low test scores are doing well, teachers report that these students are overachieving but are not gifted. Gifted students can have low test scores for a number of reasons. Accordingly, the federal definition recognizes that students coming from high socioeconomic status homes are likely to have such opportunities, which are likely to contribute to the demonstration of their giftedness.

Most of the work on the topic of underrepresentation has been conducted with African American students. The concern about their underrepresentation appears to date back to Jenkins' (1936) studies of Black students. Despite high intelligence test scores, these students were not formally identified as gifted. Unfortunately, this occurrence continues even 7 decades later. For instance, in 1950, the Educational Policies Commission noted that the tragic waste of Black talent and potential:

Lacking both incentive and opportunity, the probabilities are very great that, however superior one's gifts may be, he will rarely live a life of high achievement. Follow-up studies of highly gifted young Negroes, for instance, reveal a shocking waste of talent—a waste that adds an incalculable amount to the price of prejudice in this country. (p. 33)

In a different way, Gordon et al. (n.d.) echo these same sentiments, arguing persuasively that tracking—of which gifted education is one example—is tantamount to racism and racial discrimination. More than a half century after *Brown v. Board of Education* made school segregation illegal, URMGs, such as African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans, continue to be underidentified as gifted. Intentionally or unintentionally, gifted education remains racially segregated; it is largely populated by White, middle-class students. Extrapolating from Gordon et al.'s (n.d.) main thesis, “advanced placement classes and programs for ‘gifted’ student are gateways to 4-year colleges. Too often, these courses function more like gated communities from which African American and Latino students are excluded” (p. 17). This analogy begs the question: Why have efforts to desegregate gifted education failed? Ford, Harris, Tyson, and Frazier Trotman (2002) argued that a deficit orientation—in the form of perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors toward URMGs—effectively keeps educators from recognizing the gifts and talents of these students. Deficit thinking and subsequent behaviors result in human-made barriers that close the doors of access and opportunity for diverse students. Further, Ford et al. (2002) maintained that educators have neither proactively nor aggressively sought ways to recruit and retain URMGs in gifted education. Instead, too many teachers, school counselors, and administrators have tinkered with solutions, often doing the bare minimal to redress the problem.

DEFICIT ORIENTATIONS

Recommendations regarding how to diversify or desegregate gifted education have focused almost extensively on recruitment (i.e., identification and assessment). These recommendations vary, but they have in common the goal of finding alternative ways—more reliable and valid ways—to equitably identify and assess diverse students (Ford, 2004; Moore, Ford, & Milner, 2005). These options include culturally sensitive instruments (e.g., nonverbal tests); multidimensional assessment strategies; and broader philosophies, definitions, and theories of giftedness (Ford, 1996, 2004; Frasier, Garcia, & Passow, 1995; Frasier & Passow, 1994).

Recognizing the loss of talent among racially diverse groups who have not been identified as gifted, in 1988, Congress passed legislation (i.e.,

Javits Act) to promote the interests of gifted students; its major goal is to support efforts to identify and serve diverse and low socioeconomic status (SES) students (U.S. Department of Education, 1994). The legislation requires that about half of the funded projects serve low SES students. Despite this legislation, little has changed in the demographics of gifted education (or the practices and instruments used to identify gifted students). The most recent report on gifted education from the U.S. Department of Education (USDE; 1993), indicated that African American, Hispanic American, and Native American students remain notably absent in gifted programs. Further, the most recent data from the Civil Rights Secondary School Survey (2000) indicate that little progress has been made in improving diversity in gifted education. During this 7-year period (1993 to 2000), the percentage of underrepresentation for the three groups remain alarmingly low. Black students were 17% of school districts nationally but 8.2% of gifted education in 2000; Hispanic American students were 16% of school districts nationally but 9.5% of gifted programs; and American Indian students were 1.1% of school districts nationally but .91% of gifted programs. It should be noted that Black students were the only group that did not show an increase; in fact—they showed an even greater underrepresentation.

Although a majority of educators—teachers, school counselors, and administrators—point to testing issues as the primary cause of underrepresentation, the key barrier to the recruitment and retention of URMGs in gifted education appears to be the pervasive deficit orientation that prevails in society and trickles down to its educational institutions and programs (Ford et al., 2002). Deficit thinking is defined herein as negative, stereotypical, and prejudicial beliefs about diverse groups. According to Valencia (1997), “the deficit thinking paradigm posits that students who fail in school do so because of alleged internal deficiencies (such as cognitive and/or motivational limitations) or shortcomings socially linked to the youngster—such as familial deficits and dysfunctions” (p. xi). Such thinking inhibits teachers, school counselors, and administrators from seeing strengths in students who are different from them. Instead, they tend to focus on what is wrong with the culturally different group or individual, having low expectations for them, doing little to improve the quality of their lives, and feeling superior to them. Deficit orientations also tend to halt educational reform, when educators are unwilling to assume responsibility for students’ low achievement and failure (Berman & Chambliss, 2000; Ford & Moore, 2004a; Garcia & Guerra, 2004). These teachers, school counselors, and administrators are, in many cases, dually tasked with informing, preparing, and training parents and guardians of the URMG. The information given to low SES and other URMG students’ parents is often nonexistent. And, unfortunately like all thinking, deficit

thinking affects behaviors: People act on their thoughts and beliefs. As described later, these actions or behaviors include (but are not limited to) the low referral rates of URMGs for gifted education services, the heavy reliance on tests with little consideration to biases, and the adoption of policies and procedures that have a disparate impact on diverse students.

DEFICIT ORIENTATIONS: DENYING ACCESS AND OPPORTUNITY

Reactions to differences among URMGs manifest themselves in various ways, and they exert a powerful influence in educational settings. America's history is filled with research (including highly suspect works), theories, paradigms, and conjecture that point to deficit thinking about diverse groups, especially relating to Blacks. Early in our history, diverse groups were deemed "genetically inferior." Later, diverse groups were viewed as "culturally deprived" or "culturally disadvantaged." The more recent nomenclature is that students of color are "culturally different." Unfortunately, the arguments have gone full circle, with more recent work reverting to genetic inferiority and cultural deprivation (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994) as explanations for the achievement gap and the lower test scores of diverse students (for a detailed examination of this issue, see Valencia, 1997).

To repeat, deficit orientations go beyond thoughts, attitudes, and values. They are most evident in behaviors and actions. Specifically, ideas about group differences in capacity and potential influence the development of definitions, policies, and practices designed to deal with such differences. For instance, Gould (1981, 1995) and Menchaca (1997) noted that deficit thinking contributed to past (and no doubt, current) beliefs about ethnicity and intelligence. Gould's (1981, 1995) work demonstrates how a priori assumptions and fears associated with different ethnic groups, particularly Black Americans, led to deliberate fraud—dishonest and prejudicial research methods, deliberate miscalculations, convenient omissions, and data misinterpretation among scientists studying intelligence. These early assumptions and practices gave way to the prevailing belief that human races could be ranked in a linear scale of mental worth, as evidenced by Cyril Burt's, Paul Broca's, and Samuel Morten's research on craniometry (Gould, 1981).

The deficit orientation was recently revived by the publication of *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). Seeking to influence public and social policy, Herrnstein and Murray interpreted (or misinterpreted and misrepresented) their data, like those of earlier centuries, so as to confirm prejudices and stereotypes. As Gould (1981) noted, the hereditarian theory of IQ is a home-grown American product that persists in current day practices of testing, sorting, and discarding. Menchaca (1997) also

traced the evolution of deficit thinking and demonstrated how it influenced segregation in schools (e.g., *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) and resistance to desegregation during the civil rights era of the 1950s, 1960s, and continues today. Some scholars have concluded that educators, such as teachers, school counselors, and administrators, continue to resist desegregation. Instead, they use tracking and ability grouping to resegregate students racially (Ford & Webb, 1995; Losen & Orfield, 2002; Oakes, 1985; Slavin, 1987). Accordingly, it seems appropriate and valid to argue that much of the underrepresentation problem in gifted education (and their overrepresentation in special education) relates strongly to deficit orientations (Ford & Moore, 2004b; Ford et al., 2005). There are at least four major symptoms or resultant behaviors of deficit thinking that are addressed in the context of this chapter. Underlying all of these symptoms is a lack of willingness among educators to examine the links between educators' beliefs and attitudes, school practices (based on these beliefs), and diverse students' outcomes. Reform efforts—closing the achievement gap, decreasing diverse students' representation in special education, and increasing their participation in gifted education—have been undermined by deficit orientations of diverse students. Unfortunately, Garcia and Guerra (2004) state: “these educators do not view themselves as part of the problem, there is little willingness to look for solutions within the educational system itself” (p. 151).

Barrier I: Definitions, Testing, and Assessment

Little agreement exists among teachers, school counselors, administrators, or other school staff regarding how best to define the terms *intelligent* or *giftedness*. A national survey of state definitions of gifted and talented students was conducted in 1998 (Stephens & Karnes, 2000). The study revealed great differences and inconsistencies among the 50 states in their definitions. Most used the 1978 federal definition, which includes intellectual, creative, academic, leadership, and artistic categories. Other states adopted either definitions derived from the Javits Act of 1988, a definition created by Renzulli (1978), or the most recent federal definition:

Children and youth with outstanding talent perform or show the *potential* for performing at remarkably high levels of accomplishment when compared with others of their age, experience, or environment. These children and youth exhibit high performance capacity in intellectual, creative, and/or artistic areas, and unusual leadership capacity, or excel in specific academic fields. They require services or activities not ordinarily provided by the schools. *Outstanding talents are present in children and youth from all cultural groups, across all economic strata, and in all areas of human endeavor.* (USDE, 1993, p. 26)

Some states do not have a definition. Further, most states continue to define giftedness unidimensionally—as a function of high IQ scores. IQ or test-driven definitions are effective at identifying middle-class White students, but they do not capture the strengths of those students who: (a) perform poorly on paper-and-pencil tasks conducted in artificial or lab-like settings (Ford, 2004), (b) do not perform well on culturally loaded tests (e.g., Fagan & Holland, 2002; Flanagan & Ortiz, 2001; Helms, 1992; Kauffman, 1994), (c) have learning and/or cognitive styles that are different from White American students (Hilliard, 1992; Shade, Kelly, & Oberg, 1997), (d) have test anxiety or suffer from stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), or (e) have low achievement motivation (e.g., Ford, 1996).

Testing and Assessment Issues

The use of tests to identify and assess students is, as already stated, pervasive in gifted education. Test scores play the dominant role in identification and placement decisions. More than 90% of school districts use these test scores (Colangelo & Davis, 1997a; Davis & Rimm, 2004). This almost exclusive reliance on test scores for placement decisions keeps the demographics of gifted programs resolutely White and middle class. Although traditional intelligence tests, more or less, effectively identify and assess White students, they have been less effective with diverse students (Ford, 2004). This raises the question: *Why do we continue to use these tests so exclusively and extensively?* Educators can choose from at least three explanations for the poor test performance of Black students: (a) The fault rests in the test (e.g., test bias), (b) the fault rests with the educational environment (e.g., poor instruction and lack of access to high quality education contributes to poor test scores), or (c) the fault rests with (or in) the student (e.g., he or she is cognitively inferior or culturally deprived).

Teachers, school counselors, and administrators who select the first two viewpoints would feel an obligation to make substantive changes in assessment and educational practices. These views consider the influence of the environment (including schools) on test performance. However, the last explanation rests in deficit thinking. It is another example of blaming the victim. Educators who support this view abdicate any responsibility for ethnic minority students' lower test scores because of the belief that (a) genetics or heredity extensively determines intelligence, (b) intelligence is static, and (c) some groups are simply more intelligent than others (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Rushton, 2003).

Given that teachers are directly responsible for providing services to gifted students based on assessed needs, they require formal preparation in testing and assessment. But many teachers have never received training in testing and assessment; thus, they have little knowledge about a Wechsler Intelligence Scale (WISC-IV), Stanford-Binet V, Otis-Lennon School

Abilities Test, or any of the other tests frequently used to guide identification and placement decisions, nor can they reliably interpret intelligence and achievement test scores. Moreover, educators need to understand the impact of culture on test scores to interpret the scores meaningfully (Office for Civil Rights, 2000). They also need to understand how culturally loaded tests can hinder ethnic minority students' test scores (Fagan & Holland, 2002; Flanagan & Ortiz, 2001). Given that diverse students tend to score lower on IQ and achievement tests than White students, how can teachers interpret and use test scores responsibly? What explanations can they give for the differential test scores? What alternative instruments and assessment practices can they adopt? We must respond to these questions and prepare educators, including classroom teachers, who are competent in the area of testing and assessment.

Procedural and policy issues also contribute to the underrepresentation problem. Specifically, teachers, school counselors, and administrators systematically underrefer ethnic minority students for gifted education services (e.g., Ford, 1996, Moore et al., 2005; Saccuzzo, Johnson, & Guertin, 1994). For example, Ford (1996) found many Black students in her study had high test scores but were underrepresented in gifted education because teachers did not refer them for screening. Dawn is an example of one student who was not identified as gifted. Dawn, an eighth grader, not only had high achievement scores for 3 years, she had a high GPA, and a high IQ score (of 143). Although Dawn had met the district's achievement test criteria (93rd percentile or higher on any subscale) each of the 3 years she was tested, she was not identified as intellectually or academically gifted. Dawn's situation, like that of too many other diverse students, reveals that when teacher referral is the first (or only) recruitment step, diverse students are likely to be underreferred. Perception—deficit thinking—has a powerful influence on our behaviors and decisions.

Barrier II: Lack of Multicultural Preparation among Educators

Many scholars complain that traditional, Eurocentric, and White-normative curricula are inadequate for URMGs (Gordon et al., n.d.). Leadership is often lax in requiring educators to have multicultural training (Skrla & Scheurich, 2001). This pattern tends to trickle down to educators feeling that such training is unimportant and unnecessary. For this and other reasons, few teachers or school counselors, regardless of when they were trained, receive exposure to multicultural educational experiences, multicultural curriculum and instruction, internships and practicum in urban settings, and so on (Banks & Banks, 2004; Flowers, Milner, & Moore, 2003; Gay, 2000). As noted by one teacher, "I'm trying to think if I even had one class that addressed multicultural or diverse students in undergrad. We

did have one as a graduate student, and it was basically reading articles, summarizing them . . . I didn't get any help with transferring it to the classroom" (Garcia & Guerra, 2005, p. 157).

Even today, at institutions of higher education, students often graduate with a monocultural or ethnocentric curriculum that does not prepare them to understand, appreciate, and work with culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse students (Flowers et al., 2003; Ford et al., 2005; Milner, Flowers, Moore, Moore, & Flowers, 2003). They, consequently, misunderstand cultural differences among diverse students relative to learning styles, communication styles, and behavioral styles. The result is a cultural mismatch or clash between educators and students. This mismatch contributes in significant ways to low teacher expectations of students, poor student-teacher relationships, mislabeling, misinterpretation of behaviors, along with other outcomes, some of which have already been discussed (Ford & Moore, 2004a, 2004b).

Barrier III: Inadequate Teacher Preparation in Gifted Education

Ford (1999) surveyed culturally diverse teachers about their decisions to enter the field of gifted education, general education, or special education. Many teachers reported having little exposure to gifted education in their teacher preparation programs, and most teachers, including those who held degrees in special education, lacked any formal preparation in gifted education. This lack of preparation in and sensitivity to the characteristics of gifted students, a lack of understanding of the socioemotional and psychological needs of gifted students, and a lack of attention to underachievement among gifted students, all hinder teachers' abilities to make fair and equitable referrals. In other words, teachers who lack preparation in gifted education are ineffective at identifying gifted students (Cox, Daniel, & Boston, 1985). Teachers inadequately prepared to work with gifted students may have stereotypes and misperceptions that undermine their ability to recognize strengths in students who behave differently from their expectations. This is particularly problematic when teachers use the behaviors of White students as the norm by which to compare diverse students.

DEFICIT ORIENTATIONS: ITS IMPACT ON UNDERREPRESENTED MINORITY GROUPS

Perhaps the worst consequence of deficit thinking and orientations among educators is the devastating impact it has on the social-emotional and psychological development of URMGs. The much-cited work of Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and others (Ford, 1996; Ford & Moore, 2004a; Fordham, 1988; Steele, 1997; Suskind, 1998, Whiting, in press) reveals that

many gifted or high-achieving Black students internalize deficit orientations imposed on them from others. Many talented Black students with the greatest potential question their own abilities and then sabotage their own achievement. For example, some Black students assume the role of "class clown" or "dumb jock" to subdue their academic abilities and achievements. They refuse to participate in accelerated, advanced placement classes, and gifted education programs. These students may also succumb to negative pressures to avoid achievement, particularly from their peers (Corwin, 2001; Suskind, 1998), and they come to associate or equate academic achievement with "acting White." As Whiting (in press) notes, without a full development of scholar identity among most of these URMGs, particularly Black males, this deficit impact cannot be reversed. Further, Steele (1997) found that the test performance of African American students can be hindered by what he calls "stereotype threat" in which African American students are overcome by anxiety during test-taking situations such that their performance suffers.

Cross and Vandiver's (2001) theory of racial identity and Whiting's (in press) model on scholarly identity shed additional and compelling light on the detrimental effects of discrimination and racist encounters on the mental health of Blacks, including those identified as gifted. Under these conditions, Whiting further asserts that the UMRG's self-efficacy is never established; in fact, it is attacked and retarded. When gifted URMGs face racism, including messages that they are less able or less capable than their White classmates, they may begin to question their academic competence and dis-identify with their cultural backgrounds and academic achievement (e.g., wish or prefer to be White, reject being Black, have low racial salience, second-guess their academic competence, and so on; Moore et al., 2005; Moore, Madison-Colmore, & Smith, 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Cross and Vandiver (2001) placed these individuals in the preencounter phase of racial identity. Elsewhere, we have argued that racism takes a special toll on the lives of gifted and high-achieving URMGs (e.g., Ford & Milner, in press; Ford & Moore, 2004a; Ford et al., 2005; Moore et al., 2003, 2005) in several ways: (a) They may go through the stages of racial identity at an earlier age and more intensely, due, in part, to being highly perceptive and thoughtful; and (b) they face additional negative pressures. For many reasons, pressure comes from same-ethnicity peers who feel threatened by their high-achieving peers; these students tease gifted diverse students some of the reasons are immaturity, jealousy; although unfortunate, this oftentimes leads to attempts to sabotage their success. The second type of pressure, and for many of the previously mentioned reasons, comes from White peers who alienate and reject high-achieving and/or gifted diverse students. This rejection may be especially hurtful if there are few diverse students in the student's gifted

education classes. The final type of peer pressure comes from other diverse groups who, like White students, may have stereotypes of them (e.g., Hispanic students who have stereotypes about Native American students; Black students who have stereotypes about Hispanic students). Thus, gifted URMGs may deliberately underachieve and refuse to participate in gifted education classes for psychological reasons (e.g., internalized deficit thinking) and socioemotional reasons (e.g., fear of rejection and isolation). When one adds negative peer pressures to deficit thinking held by some educators, the mixture can be explosive and detrimental.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE: ELIMINATING DEFICIT ORIENTATIONS

Schools must eliminate barriers to the participation of economically disadvantaged and minority students in services for students with outstanding talents . . . and must develop strategies to serve students from underrepresented groups. (USDE, 1993, p. 28)

As stated previously, changes in education seem to have been ineffective because of unwillingness among teachers, school counselors, and administrators to share responsibility for low outcomes among gifted URMGs. This may reflect attitudes of complacency by educators that their school is doing an adequate job or resignation that they can do no more to educate them more effectively (Garcia & Guerra, 2004). Deficit thinking is reflected in the statement of two participants interviewed by Garcia and Guerra: "some children are already so harmed by their lives that they cannot perform at the same level as other children" and "If those neurons don't start firing at 8 or 9 months, it's never going to happen. So we've got some connections that weren't made and they can't be made up" (p. 160).

To recruit and retain more URMGs in gifted education, teachers, school counselors, and administrators need to rid themselves of deficit orientations. Parents and guardians, unless made aware of options, opportunities, and the abilities and academic or cognitive strengths of their own children, can not assist in the process of defeating deficit thinking. These attitudinal or philosophical changes increase the probability that educators will adopt contemporary theories and definitions of giftedness, use culturally sensitive instruments, identify and serve gifted underachievers, provide all their students with a multicultural education, and provide all staff members with multicultural preparation. Educators must acquire the necessary dispositions, knowledge, and skills to work with students who are gifted and culturally diverse. It is suggested that educators combine the best of research and theory in gifted education with the best of research and theory in multicultural education to meet the

needs of gifted diverse students. Thus, we must study not only self-concept among gifted students but also racial identity among diverse gifted students; likewise. We must not only select books that challenge gifted students but also multicultural books that provide interest and relevance to diverse students. A cultural lens must always be used to examine the needs and development of students who are gifted and diverse.

ADOPT CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE THEORIES AND DEFINITIONS OF INTELLIGENCE AND GIFTEDNESS

A number of definitions and theories of giftedness (and intelligence) exists, but two appear to best capture the strengths, abilities, and promise of gifted URMGs. Both theories contend that gifted is a social construct, not quantifiable, and varies from culture to culture. On this last note, we understand that we are focused on a U.S. paradigm of what it means to be gifted; however, we contend that what is valued as gifted in one culture may not be valued as gifted in another culture. And just as the United States prides itself on not being monolithic, but a “melting pot” or “tossed salad”, and just as America must recognize cultural differences as a value in our society, so too must gifted education.

Sternberg’s (1985) Triarchic Theory of Intelligence proposes that intelligence is multidimensional and dynamic and that no one type of intelligence is superior to another. The theory holds that intelligence manifests itself in at least three ways: (1) componentially; (2) experientially; and (3) contextually. Componential learners are analytical and abstract thinkers who do well on standardized tests and in school. Experiential learners value creativity and enjoy novelty. They dislike rules and follow few of their own; they see rules as inconveniences meant to be broken. Contextual learners readily adapt to their environments (e.g., a skill IQ tests fail to measure). They are street-smart survivors, socially competent, and practical but they may do poorly in school. Gardner (1983) distinguished among seven types of intelligences—linguistics, logical-mathematical, interpersonal, intrapersonal, bodily kinesthetics, spatial, and musical—each of which entails distinct forms of perception, memory, and other psychological processes. In his theory of multiple intelligences, Gardner defined intelligence as the ability to solve problems or to fashion products valued in one or more cultural settings.

These two theories are broad and comprehensive. Moreover, they are flexible and inclusive theories that contend that giftedness is a social construct, which manifests itself in many ways and means different things for different cultural groups. Many theorists acknowledge the multifaceted, complex nature of intelligence and how current tests

(which are too simplistic and static) fail to do justice to this construct. In addition, as already noted, the USDE's (1993) most recent definition of gifted also broadens notions of giftedness.

The definition should resonate among those responsible for recruiting diverse students into gifted education. First, the concept of talent development is a major focus of the definition. It recognizes that many students are diamonds in the rough who have had inadequate opportunities to develop and perform at high academic levels. For example, many students, especially those who live in poverty, lack exposure to books and other literature, they may not visit libraries or bookstores, and they often miss out on other meaningful educational experiences (Hart & Risley, 1995).

Just as important, the federal definition also recognizes that some students face more barriers in life than others (including racial discrimination). Discrimination takes its toll on the motivation, aspirations, and mental health of diverse students (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Hochschild, 2005; Wong et al., 2003). Discrimination places URMGs—at all levels of intelligence and at all socioeconomic levels—at high risk for low achievement, academic disengagement, school failure, and other social ills that have been described elsewhere (see Gordon et al., n.d.).

ADOPT CULTURALLY SENSITIVE INSTRUMENTS

The most promising instruments for assessing the strengths of diverse students are nonverbal tests of intelligence, such as the Naglieri Non-Verbal Ability Test (NNAT) and Raven's Matrix Analogies Tests. These tests are considered less culturally loaded than traditional tests (see Flanagan & Ortiz, 2001; Kaufman, 1994; Naglieri & Ford, 2003; Saccuzzo et al., 1994). Thus, these instruments are more likely to capture the cognitive strengths of diverse students. Saccuzzo et al. (1994), for instance, identified substantively more Black and Hispanic students using the Raven's Matrix Analogies Test than using a traditional test, and they reported that "50% of the non-White children who had failed to qualify based on a WISC-R qualified with the *Raven*" (p. 10). They went on to state that "the *Raven* is a far better measure of pure potential than tests such as the WISC-R, whose scores depend heavily on acquired knowledge" (p. 10). More recently, Naglieri and Ford (2003) reported that URMG had comparable scores to White students on the NNAT, with IQs ranging from 96 to 99. This three-point difference is markedly less than the often reported 15-point gap that exists on traditional IQ tests between Black and White students. These comparable scores are possible because they give students opportunities to demonstrate their intelligence without the confounding influence of language, vocabulary, and academic exposure. Likewise,

Fagan and Holland (2002) have conducted numerous studies in which diverse students get comparable scores to White students when there is an equal opportunity to learn the materials, specifically vocabulary.

IDENTIFY AND SERVE GIFTED UNDERACHIEVERS

Philosophical differences persist over the goals of gifted education and the types of gifted students to serve. Some philosophies specify that gifted students be both gifted and productive. Thus, giftedness becomes equated with achievement or demonstrated performance, and gifted education services become a privilege as opposed to a need. In schools that follow this philosophy, gifted students must demonstrate high achievement, otherwise they are unlikely to be identified or kept in gifted programs if their grades fall below a certain level. When one equates giftedness with *high achievement* (itself a relative, subjective term), gifted underachievers will not be identified or served.

How one perceives gifted students and their achievement has important implications for diverse students, so many of whom are caught in the achievement gap. For many reasons, some already discussed, diverse students are overwhelmingly found among low achievers. Thus, they are not likely to be identified as gifted (Ford, 1996).

PROVIDE MULTICULTURAL PREPARATION FOR EDUCATORS

With forecasts projecting a growing ethnic minority student population (Hochschild, 2005), educators will have to bear a greater responsibility for demonstrating multicultural competence (Ford, Grantham, & Harris, 1998; Ford & Harris, 1999; Ford, Howard, Harris, & Tyson, 2000; Ford & Milner, in press; Milner et al., 2003). Multicultural education preparation among all school personnel—teachers, school counselors, administrators, and others—must focus on their knowledge, dispositions, and skills. Comprehensive preparation should reeducate school personnel to become culturally competent so that deficit orientations no longer impede diverse students' access to gifted education. This preparation can increase the recruitment and retention of diverse students in gifted education. This preparation must permeate educational and professional development experiences.

Banks (1999) offers one model for infusing multicultural content into the curriculum. For instance, at the contributions and additive levels, diversity is treated superficially; teachers are exposed to safe topics and issues, diversity permeates only a few courses, and alternative perspectives, paradigms, and theories are not shared. The two lower levels tend to promote or reinforce stereotypes about diverse groups. However, these shortcomings are rectified at the higher levels—transformation and social action. When

the curriculum is transformational, multiple perspectives are shared; teachers are encouraged to be empathetic and to infuse multicultural teaching strategies, materials, and resources into all subjects as often as possible. Finally, teachers are expected to be agents of social change. They are taught to be empowered so that social justice is at the heart of their teaching. To become more culturally competent, educators must:

- Engage in critical self-examination that explores their attitudes and perceptions concerning cultural diversity and the influence of these attitudes and perceptions on diverse students' achievement and educational opportunities.
- Acquire accurate information about various cultural groups (e.g., histories, historical and contemporary contributions, and their preferred learning styles).
- Learn how to infuse multicultural perspectives and materials into curriculum and instruction so as to maximize the academic, cognitive, social-emotional, and cultural development of students.

PROVIDE A MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION FOR GIFTED STUDENTS

Many scholars emphasize the need for all students to have a multicultural education (e.g., Banks, 1999; Ford et al., 1998; Ford & Harris, 1999; Gay, 1990). Using a mirror as an analogy, proponents of multicultural education believe that students must see themselves reflected and affirmed in the curriculum. By combining the works of Banks (1999) and Bloom (1985), Ford and Harris (1999) developed the Ford-Harris matrix (also referred to as the Bloom-Banks matrix) to guide teachers in developing curriculum that is both challenging and multicultural at the highest levels (see Table 11.1). They attempt, in other words, to not only desegregate classes, but to also desegregate the curriculum by providing a culture-conscious education for all students. Teachers are encouraged to promote critical thinking and problem solving through analysis, synthesis, and evaluation (Bloom) and to work at the transformation and social action levels of multicultural education (Banks).

By way of illustration, using the Ford-Harris matrix (Ford & Harris, 1999), teachers will have students analyze events from more than one perspective (analysis transformation), develop a report, and submit it to school administrators to get gifted education policies changed (synthesis-social action), or conduct a study of diverse students' feelings about gifted education classes and share the results with the school board, along with recommendations (evaluation-social action). In addition to the previous suggestions, it is important that schools do the following:

Table 11.1
Ford-Harris Matrix: Gifted Multicultural Education

	Knowledge	Comprehension	Application	Analysis	Synthesis	Evaluation
Contributions	Students are taught and know facts about cultural artifacts, events, groups, and other cultural elements.	Students show an understanding of information about cultural artifacts, groups, etc.	Students are asked to and can apply information learned on cultural artifacts, events, etc.	Students are taught to and can analyze (e.g., compare and contrast) information about cultural artifacts, groups, etc.	Students are required to and can create a new product from the information on cultural artifacts, groups, etc.	Students are taught to and can evaluate facts and information based on cultural artifacts, groups, etc.
Additive	Students are taught and know concepts and themes about cultural groups.	Students are taught and can understand cultural concepts and theses.	Students are required to and can apply information learned about cultural concepts and themes.	Students are taught to and can analyze important cultural concepts and themes.	Students are asked to and can synthesis important information on cultural concepts and themes.	Students are taught to and can critique cultural concepts and themes.
Transformation	Students are given information on important cultural elements, groups, etc., and can understand this information from different perspectives.	Students are taught to understand and can demonstrate an understanding of important cultural concepts and themes from different perspectives.	Students are asked to and can apply their understanding of important concepts and themes from different perspectives.	Students are taught to and can examine important cultural concepts and themes from more than one perspective.	Students are required to and can create a product based on their new perspective or the perspective of another group.	Students are taught to and can evaluate or judge important cultural concepts and themes from different viewpoints (minority group).
Social Action	Based on information on cultural artifacts, etc., students make recommendations for social action.	Based on their understanding of important concepts and themes, students make recommendations for social action.	Students are asked to and can apply their understanding of important social and cultural issues; they make recommendations for and take action on these issues.	Students are required to and can analyze social and cultural issues from different perspectives; they take action on these issues.	Students create a plan of action to address a social and cultural issue(s); they seek important social change.	Students critique important social and cultural issues and seek to make national and/or international change.

Source: From *Multicultural Gifted Education*, by D. Y. Ford and J. J. Harris III, 1999, New York: Teachers College Press. Reprinted with permission.

- Design racial equity plans to monitor gifted education data, including demographics, referrals, and student achievement.
- Change or eliminate all policies and practices that have a disparate impact on diverse students relative to their representation in gifted education and their achievement and success.
- Set measurable goals for changing the demographics of gifted education, and otherwise improving the experiences and outcomes of diverse students.
- Review these goals, plans, policies, and practices annually, and make changes where necessary (i.e., retrain teachers who do not refer diverse students for gifted education screening, adopt alternative assessments, provide different or additional student support, increase or modify professional development in gifted and multicultural education).

CONCLUSION

If racial equity were a required course, most U.S. public school systems would receive a failing grade . . . the public schools consistently fail to provide the same quality of education for students of colors as for White students. (Gordon et al., n.d., p. 1)

The success that schools achieve at recruiting and retaining URMGs in gifted education depends largely on critical self-examination and a willingness to move beyond deficit thinking. It can not be emphasized enough that changes in schools fail or stall because deficit beliefs become a filter that blocks educators' abilities to examine their assumptions and to look beyond traditional solutions for real and meaningful change (Garcia & Guerra, 2004, p. 151). The following recommendations are offered as guiding principles to ensure that we begin the process of change.

First, school districts need to examine their philosophy of gifted education and their definition of giftedness—the philosophy and definition must be culturally sensitive and responsive. Second, assessment instruments and practices must be equitable—the measures must be valid and reliable for diverse students, and socioeconomic, cultural, linguistic, and gender biases in the selection process should be eliminated. Third, students in gifted programs should closely represent the community's demographics in which they are located. Students of diverse backgrounds should be equitably represented according to criteria such as ethnicity and socioeconomic status. The explanations for the disparities must be evaluated and decreased. Similarly, there should be qualitative and quantitative evidence of increasing diversity among professionals in the gifted program.

Fourth, the school district should provide opportunities for continuing professional development in gifted education and multicultural education.

More specifically, teachers and other school personnel must be encouraged and given opportunities by administrators to participate in workshops, conferences, and university courses that focus on both areas of education (see Table 11.1). Fifth, there should be mechanisms that assess and address the affective and psychological needs of diverse gifted students (e.g., social and emotional needs, racial identity, and coping with discrimination). Attending to the noncognitive needs and development of diverse students is essential for their success in gifted education (Moore et al., 2005). Multicultural counseling is critical in this regard, as well as providing students with mentors and role models. Sixth, curriculum and instruction need to be grounded in multiculturalism. The curriculum needs to be pluralistic: It should provide genuine options for all students to understand diverse cultures. Seventh, the child's first teachers are in the home. In many cases, these underrepresented students are cared for by parents and guardians with even less training and knowledge than the school teachers, counselors, and administrators. Information must constantly and consistently be made available in accessible format, language, and tone that is inviting for parents and guardians. Finally, policies should be in place to support equity and excellence. More specifically, published policies regarding equity and excellence are needed, and school personnel must be held accountable for implementing these policies. When diverse students succeed, we as educators are there to congratulate them and we take some of the responsibility for their success. Likewise, when racially diverse students do not succeed, we must share some of the responsibility.

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CHAPTER 12

Tracing Institutional Racism in Higher Education

Academic Practices of Latino Male Undergraduates

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ALTHOUGH INSTITUTIONAL RACISM has a universal definition and consequence, its presence and manifestation can be difficult to detect especially in the absence of overt events and actions. Sue (2004) explains that what is taken for granted as normal routine actually veils racism and, therefore, becomes an unquestioned practice. Institutional racism relies on the contribution of unexamined attitudes and practices to remain undetectable, transformative in nature, and resilient (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Miles, 1989; Pincus, 2000). In other words, “We unintentionally enable and empower racism by making it invisible” (Sue, 2005, p. 106). Concepts like internalized oppression (Tatum, 2003), racial formation (Omi & Winant, 1994), racial microaggression (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000), Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), and White privilege (McIntosh, 1989) reveal how unexamined ideology and practice work together to formulate varied iterations of institutional racism. Sadly, outside the boundaries of subduing the escalation of a racial protest, little effort is directed to proactively address institutional racism. In this way, contesting institutional racism is framed as the end result of something gone wrong rather than something that has been going wrong.

Although racial protests publicly acknowledge the existence of institutional racism, racism is minimally disrupted. The lag time between racial

protest and implementing resolution becomes the window of opportunity for institutional racism to transform itself (Miles, 1989). Institutional racism varies according to the context, politics of the day, the geography of location, the envisioned purpose of a social context, or the leadership in a given context as well as its intended beneficiaries (A. Hurtado, 2004). The institutional racism that incited *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the civil rights movement, the third-world strike at UC Berkeley, and affirmative action were each different variations of institutional racism. No matter the different historical and contemporary versions of institutional racism, each event led to the same racialized outcome.

Today's race-neutral guidelines qualify as *structural discrimination*, whereas the most recognized form of *institutional racism* was associated with the historical case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* that outwardly put 50 years of segregation into motion. Structural discrimination "refers to the policies of dominant race/ethnic/gender institutions and the behavior of the individuals who implement these policies and control these institutions, which are race/ethnic/gender neutral in intent but which have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority race/ethnic/gender groups" (Pincus, 2000, p. 31). By comparison, institutional discrimination occurred when "policies of the dominant race/ethnic/gender institutions and the behavior of individuals who control these institutions and implement policies . . . are intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority race/ethnic/gender groups" (Pincus, 2000, p. 31). On reading these definitions, the tendency would be to immediately align institutional racism with what Omi and Winant (1994) refer to as the racial state: "The racial state is nothing more than the institution of government, which through laws, court decisions, and other avenues, determines the trajectory of racial relations" (p. 78). Regardless of intention, these terms highlight the transformation and continued repositioning of racism in our society. While *Plessy v. Ferguson* best exemplifies the workings of a racial state at a macrolevel, race-neutral guidelines, are meant to deny the social reality that race does matter, thereby, leaving it up to the individual to bring resolution to racial injustice at a microlevel.

To fully grasp depths, dimension, dynamics, and consequences of institutional racism, this chapter examines institutional racism in the context of University of California. The chapter begins with broadly defining institutional racism and its role in higher education. To contextualize this definition, a brief historical overview outlines the role and purpose of the University of California as a public educational system. Given this framework, a short discussion of the circumstances that inspired race-neutral guidelines was provided. To understand the significant impact of race-neutral admission guidelines on students of color, demographic profiles pre- and post-race-neutral guidelines were presented. In addition to this

data, the case studies presented in this chapter illustrate the way an institution falls short in positively impacting the social and academic realities that confront students, especially students of color. Finally, this chapter concludes by recommending a set of strategies to create optimal and equitable conditions for teaching and learning in higher education. Rather than spending efforts targeting the point of origin, it is important to understand that institutional racism permeates all aspects of interaction in the academic affairs of an institution.

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM: DEFINITION AND ITS POSITION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Whereas prejudice—attitudes or beliefs—may not always be enacted, discrimination is the enactment of prejudice that is embodied through action (Schaefer, 2005). Institutional racism is a form of discrimination that systematically and comprehensively omits People of Color from having access to resources and opportunities (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969). Institutional racism is a social system that privileges some members while disadvantaging others (Sedlacek & Brooks, 1976). Sedlacek and Brooks suggest that institutional racism in higher education requires a responsive climate that includes:

- Biased admission standards result in fewer minority students on the nation's campuses.
- Faculty members have low expectations of minority student performance.
- Most student activities are organized primarily for whites.
- Most counselors are not knowledgeable about minority students' problems and concerns.
- There are only limited course offerings that are relevant to minority students.
- Few minority personnel are in key decision-making roles.
- Programs for minority students tend to be understaffed and underfunded.
- Schools must commit little of their own funds to minority student programs. (pp. 50–61)

These criteria translate institutional racism into the practice of gatekeeping and brokering resources and opportunities for some students and not for others (A. Hurtado, Haney, & Garcia, 1998). Locating institutional racism is not very difficult if we examine the culture of higher education, the practices that support its culture, and address the assumptions related to diversity.

First, at the institutional level, the concept of merit supports institutional racism to lead a pardoned and quiet existence in the culture of higher education. Most notably, merit gives the appearance that higher education institutions operate from a color-blind perspective, thus fostering the assumption that standards of fairness are at work (Sue, 2004). Moreover, merit gives institutional racism the power to invalidate some experiences over others, particularly those that do not coincide with the experiences of Whites in privileged positions (Sue, 2003). Although merit is discussed and treated in institutions as if it were an independent, neutral, and objective vehicle for governing students (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solorzano, 1997), Delgado Bernal (1999) reminds us that merit is “socially constructed and standards of competition are set by those in power” (p. 95). Merit is one of the best functioning social constructions impeding the progress of providing an equitable education as it continues to make higher education increasingly exclusive. Hence, what used to be considered a competitive student, namely someone with a 4.0 grade point average (GPA) and perfect SAT scores, appears mediocre compared to the new pool of students enrolling in such places like UC Berkeley whose average GPAs are 4.29. Due to excelling achievement levels that surpass the agreed standards of eligibility, merit is a vibrant but silently moving target continuously forcing academic standards to be rearticulated in very formal and informal ways.

Second, there is an unspoken assumption that working in a diverse environment means that all members in that context are comfortable with diversity. The truth is that many Americans are not at ease with diversity (Garcia, 2001) and inviting diversity to exist loosely on a campus reflects a lack of responsibility and preparedness by administrators, faculty, and staff to understand the significant impact and meaning of a growing diverse student body. Although people may not always act out what they believe, this does not mean that held beliefs do not inform the way people perform their jobs at the university on some level (Schaefer, 2005). There seems to be a greater willingness to participate in discussions of race as long as the discussion remains impersonal and ethereal (Tatum, 2003). When conversations entail taking personal accountability for the issue, those conversations seem to come across as threatening to personal and intellectual livelihood. For example, Altbach (1991) noted that White liberal faculty expressed resistance “to structural and curricular changes aimed at reducing racial tensions on campus” (p. 5) because it appeared to water down scholarship. Norman and Norman (1995) suggest that all, but especially White, faculty “need to examine their ideas concerning their own academic socialization and how that socialization process has interacted with their social and cultural background, and how these ideas have affected their beliefs and assumptions with regard to teaching and learning in multicultural environ-

ments" (p. 134). A glimpse across different academic disciplines gives the impression that any valued scholarship worth studying is primarily produced by European and/or White male scholars (Botstein, 1991). Without some consideration of their own beliefs, members unknowingly and unintentionally offer collective consent to an ideology and practice that perpetuates institutional racism (Knowles & Prewitt, 1969; Pincus, 2000).

Third, without authentic and meaningful efforts to integrate diversity, diversity on campus merely signals progressive attitudes to coexist and at the same time compromises any real efforts to make diversity an integral element of the institution. According to Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, and Gurin (2002), this structural diversity, or increasing numbers of minority students on predominantly White campus, cannot improve the frequency and quality of intergroup relations. Studies on student achievement suggest that diversity raises the intellectual bar, yet White students may not always intermingle with students of color beyond the classroom (Altbach, 1991; Gloria & Castellanos, 2003; Gurin et al., 2002). Similarly, because of unchecked beliefs by faculty, White faculty in particular, students of color either never utilized office hours prior to graduating or never returned after their first visit due to negative interactions (Anaya & Cole, 2001; Steward, Gimenez, & Jackson, 1995; Tettegah, 1997). In the absence of deliberate measures to integrate diversity, a diverse presence on campus becomes vulnerable to marginalization and being excluded from being equal participants in higher education (Loo & Rolison, 1986). The harsh but uncompromising truth is that institutional racism cannot exist or become enabled without the participation of a human resource.

Network Analytic Framework provides another way of thinking about how ideology, beliefs, and practices work together to form institutional racism. Network Analytic Framework fosters understanding regarding the individual and collective accountability and awareness for creating a social climate that provides an inclusive and accepting learning environment for all students, faculty, staff, and administrators of racial and ethnically diverse backgrounds.

EXPLAINING INSTITUTIONAL RACISM THROUGH NETWORK ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

Stanton-Salazar's (1997) Network Analytic Framework critically examines the systematic way in which ideology and socialization define the selective practices by institutional agents (e.g., teachers, counselors, teachers aides, and other school affiliates) to ensure the academic prosperity of some students and the demise of others. In the absence of brokering by institutional agents (e.g., teachers and guidance counselors),

poor and minority students and low-income, first-generation college students are less able to decode language, behavior, values, and other forms of engagement to fully participate in the school context. In this experience, rarely are low-income, minority students' brokered access to the necessary resources and opportunities without these efforts being considered preference (S. Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996; Watson, Wright, Terrell, & Associates, 2002). Access to supportive networks allows students to feel isolation and alienation when there is a lack of "fit" between the school and student's value systems (Castellanos, 1996; Eimers & Pike, 1997; McGlynn, 1997; Montero-Seibirth, 1996; Vasquez, 1979). In this way, it is really critical for 1st-year students to seek support from more veteran students and institutional agents who are more familiar with the social landscape to develop contextual proficiency (S. Hurtado et al., 1996). Network Analytic Framework provides a means to understand academic failure as systemic exclusion and academic success as strategic alliance.

Academic success relies on a minority student's ability to decode and also depends on the "development of various abilities to participate effectively in multiple cultural worlds" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 22). In this way, Stanton-Salazar recognizes the social element playing an important factor in mediating academic performance. "Through relationships with institutional agents, a segment of society gains the resources, privileges, and support necessary to advance and maintain their economic and political position in society" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 6). Similarly, S. Hurtado and her colleagues (1996) suggest that doing well in higher education results from both intellectual ability and social adjustment. More often than not, White students better understand how to decode language and behavior to participate in school because school ideologies are based on White, middle-class values (Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1993; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). This brings to mind that cultural congruence is often not questioned or suspected in preferential treatment. Unfortunately, a culture of merit discourages student collaboration because it compromises what it means to be a competitive student.

Although this theoretical perspective would typically not be applied to understand the schooling experiences of minority students in higher education, the value of this theory cannot be denied given that institutions and institutional agents become key components to either gatekeeping or brokering the academic and social experiences of students. The case studies shared in this chapter demonstrate how institutional racism through structural discrimination awakened these minority students to understand that their academic performance alone was not enough to ensure their success on this particular campus. Once beginning their University of California experience, these students developed a heightened sense of racial identity as a result of being treated differently by faculty

and other students. To this end, framing their case studies requires some background on the University of California system to get a sense of how student perception is more than a mental outlook and informed by the social context.

FRAMING THE CONVERSATION: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Ten campuses (Berkeley, Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, Santa Cruz, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and Merced) compose the University of California (UC) system. These land-grant institutions serve citizens from all segments of society and are ultimately of considerable benefit to the state and the nation according to its mission statement (Student Academic Services, 2003a). Although current state policy mandates the top one eighth of California high school students must be eligible to attend, only a quarter of eligible students are admitted to the University of California (Student Academic Services, 2003a). After race-neutral guidelines were implemented, the UC system became much more outwardly exclusive. In March 2003, the office of the president of the UC system released a report titled *Undergraduate Access to the University of California: After the Elimination of Race-Conscious Policies*. The report highlighted how UC race-neutral admission guidelines—effective 1998—led to a striking decline of minority student population systemwide. University of California Berkeley and UCLA in particular experienced a 50% decline in the minority student population. This decline is viewed with some suspicion and minimal credibility given that during 1997 to 1998 the systemwide rate for underrepresented students went from 79.1 to 71.2% (Student Academic Services, 2003b, p. 18).

The decline was not more drastic because the University of California created academic enrichment strategies for low-income students from educationally disadvantaged families who resided in geographically underserved areas, which was also known as the Eligibility in Local Context (ELC). In conjunction with outreach programs, the ELC ensured that the top 4% of students met college eligibility standards at the local high school level to increase the likelihood of attending college. Additionally, the Comprehensive Review according to Chavez (2004) created a more inclusive admission policy by considering “both academic achievement and the education and personal context framing this achievement” (p. 4). Even with these gains, the steady decline of Latinos and African Americans continued to dominate the enrollment gap compared to Whites (Lomibao, Barreto, & Pachon, 2004).

Chavez’s (2004) policy brief, *Admissions and Latino Representation at UC Berkeley*, documents how Latinos in 1998 dipped from 8% compared to the

year before when admissions were 15.4% and slightly recovered to 12.1% in 2002. Chavez (2004) found that after the 1st year of comprehensive review (CR) implementation, admissions simultaneously climbed from 10% to 12.1%. When the former chair of the UC Board of Regents, John Moores, believed that students ($n = 386$) with SAT I scores of 1,000 or lower were being admitted, while students ($n = 3,253$) with SAT I scores of 1400 and above were denied admissions, Chancellor Robert Berdahl replied that even those students with low SAT I scores were still the top 4% of their high school and, using the ELC, those students were still eligible (Chavez, 2004). Chavez concludes that "the role of the SAT in admission decisions, the concept of merit, and the question of access to UC Berkeley remain controversial issues" (p. 5).

Race-neutral policy widened the educational gap among underrepresented minority students according to Lomibao et al. (2004), the authors of *The Reality of Race Neutral Admissions for Minority Students at the University of California: Turning the Tide or Turning Them Away?* Rather than diversifying the student body as was intended, the anti-affirmative action initiative, also known as SP-1, supported an outcome in which "Black students remain a decreasing percentage of the overall UC freshman student body whereas Asian American and non-Hispanic White admissions are increasing by a larger margin" (p. 2). Lacking clarification on the difference between "rate" and "raw numbers" can be misleading in terms of what enrollment patterns statistically suggest (Lomibao et al., 2004). "Even if the raw number of Latino and Black students admitted for freshman year is increasing, they are a decreasing percentage of the overall freshman student body" (Lomibao et al., 2004, p. 10). This report cautions against celebrating the rebound of 2002 especially given the resounding messages sent by the Supreme Court with cases like *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger* (June, 2003). These cases reinforced the exclusive development occurring with SP-1. A. Hurtado (2004) poignantly recognized that the Supreme Court's decision translated into a greater exclusion of minority students:

The parameters set by the court were clear: benefits for all and not just for a few. But the reality was that "all" came to be synonymous with "White" and "few" with non-White. There was no mistake possible in interpreting the intent: If Whites benefited from diversity, then affirmative action would stay; if only People of Color benefited, then the argument was no longer valid. (p. 276)

These decisions safeguarded the preference and exclusivity while, at the same time, they revealed impatience with fine-tuning the implementation of legislative rulings and policies aimed to provide an equitable education for minority students. According to A. Hurtado (2004): "In the

final analysis, the political aspect of exclusion based on discrimination, the continued experience of racism in everyday life, and the economic disadvantages based on race and ethnicity were not addressed in the Michigan cases" (p. 276). In the end, institutional racism prevented students of color from having equal access to resources and opportunities in their respective institutions.

TRACING INSTITUTIONAL RACISM THROUGH STUDENT PERSPECTIVES AND SOCIAL AWARENESS ZONES

Stark and Griffin's book *Facing You, Facing Me: Race, Class, Gender among U.C. Berkeley Student Leaders* presents case studies on the experiences of students of color attending UC Berkeley. This groundbreaking work by Stark and Griffin (2001) discussed how institutional racism becomes a shared experience for both White students and students of color. This book lends triangulated support for the case studies shared in this chapter in understanding the UC experience regarding the daily racial messages and questions received by students of color that speculate about their being truly qualified to attend institutions of higher education like UC Berkeley.

The case studies come from a 2-year ethnographic study that examined the schooling experiences of three Latino male undergraduates—Ernesto, Adrian, and Antonio—attending West Coast University (pseudonym), a UC campus. Understanding how students figured out how to manage the higher education system from 1 year to the next from both retrospective and contemporary views was of central interest. Largely, their participation in that social process was mediated by perceived differences as enacted through exclusionary treatment practices by two predominantly represented groups (Whites and Asian Americans). Designated areas on campus where perceived differences were most apparent and prevalent were discussed as social awareness zones. In these zones, student beliefs about limited access and availability to resources and the reality of being underrepresented fostered feelings of marginalization. These case studies call into question the role and accountability of the institution, administration, and staff who have the intention to create an equitable, safe, and optimal learning environment for all its students.

When these three men were admitted to West Coast University, they did not know what it meant to attend a predominantly White institution. Their prior education occurred in diverse educational contexts in which Latinos were the majority. These students built the kind of academic excellence that positioned them to enroll at West Coast University. Their focus on working to meet eligibility standards left them little room to

contemplate what it meant for them as students of color to leave home and attend a place like West Coast University whose student body was predominantly White and Asian. While these students expected college to be intellectually rigorous, they did not expect a place like West Coast University to be an unwelcoming environment.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IS MEDIATED THROUGH SOCIAL AWARENESS ZONES

Ernesto, Adrian, and Antonio experienced exclusionary treatment in social awareness zones, which are discussed later, such as Greenway Hall or the Library. The phrase *geography of academic practice*, adapted from the work of S. Hurtado et al. (1996), considers educational outcomes as a response from students of color given their limited access to resources and opportunities. The geography of academic practice speaks closely to microinvalidations in that “those in power impose their definition of reality on persons of color, thereby invalidating their experiences” (Sue, 2003, p. 123). In addition, the geography of academic practice broadly recognizes the way students assess and reference the larger social and physical landscape to evaluate and negotiate their understandings of racism as they have occurred in microconversations and interactions. We are particularly interested in problematizing the issue of racism given that “class- and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all of the differences (or variance) in school experience and performance” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 51).

Greenway Hall is an open-air walkway at West Coast University. Greenway Hall is an administrative building that houses student services like transcripts and financial aid, the offices of Registrar, Financial Aid, and Admissions for Undergraduate/Graduate students. Customarily, students hang around the steps of Greenway Hall to eat lunch, to meet up with friends, talk with friends, or to just enjoy being outside between classes. Perpendicular to the steps a walkway is used to enter the south side of campus. For about two hours between 11:00 A.M. and 1:00 P.M. during the week, student representatives from various social clubs/organizations sit at tables to offer information regarding events and fund-raisers, or seeking new members. This set-up promotes the appearance that students walking through the upper Greenway can exercise their own discretion in either picking or bypassing the offered information. However, not all groups use this space in the same manner. Some student representatives stand in the middle of the walkway to pass out informational flyers regarding membership and social gatherings. In this way, the information is distributed more selectively. It was quite common to observe that flyers were handed to mostly Asian and White students—these

are the predominant groups on campus—according to Ernesto as he compared his experience at community college:

The difference between West Coast and Palomar is the community being served. Here Asian and Anglo [are served] but over there they had a lot of everything [diversity]. I think that there is racism here. I experienced it at a party. It was an Asian frat. I was with this Mexican guy named Mike. There were a handful of us there. We were getting hard looks. After awhile, I left. You experience racism when you walk on Greenway. When sorority girls are inviting people, they don't invite someone who does not look Asian. Whites do the same thing. (Figueroa, 2002, p. 48)

Aside from Greenway Hall, other areas around West Coast University did not challenge their perception of being different. In California where minorities compose more than half of the state's population, these students pondered why in a state where they are the growing majority at West Coast University they were the minority.

The University Library. Adrian shared this feeling of being different while contemplating what it must mean for Asian and Whites, who at West Coast University are the predominant groups on campus. Adrian took us from the library to the classroom to explain isolation:

You might be in the library and see yourself by yourself. People around you . . . two tables in front of you and behind you might be full of Asians. That's a reality. That's how it is [here]. I wonder how it is for them [Asian and Whites]. That would be really interesting. They [Asians and Whites] must view this place like I do L.A.—it's just so comfortable. There are so many clubs for them. They have such a base of people, [and] older people they can turn to in the sciences, [and] in literature. Numbers, pure numbers. I think that's cultural capital. That is the stuff that they get from these people here. It must be amazing for them to be here because they got that. For Latinos its isolation cause you may not have that. You may have to find that [support] you might have to search for it a lot harder than they probably would. (Figueroa, 2002, p. 49)

For Adrian, greater numbers mediated Asian students' comfort level by having access to a number of Asian student clubs and the number of Asian faculty. Adrian's point is that even though Asian students, specifically, might not directly interact with one another or with faculty, the possibility (if students are inclined) of interacting with other students through clubs or getting in touch with Asian faculty exists. In turn, Adrian believed that less Latinos on campus in terms of students and faculty meant having limited resources or access to opportunities to broker not only his comfort level but also his ability to obtain support and feel

welcomed on campus. In this way, Adrian believed these conditions fostered his feelings of isolation.

Dave's Place. These feelings of isolation extended beyond the campus to permeate nearby hangouts where students often gathered to have a meal or shop for clothing. Ernesto shared why off-campus establishments that are popular among students paralleled his experience on campus:

You don't see other people whom are like you present. I know there's nobody holding you back at the door to come in . . . but the thing is also that you are dealing with all these . . . people whom don't think like you, who don't understand you, who do not feel the way you do, who dress different than you do and also their priorities, personalities have a whole different outlook in life than you do . . . so sometimes you aren't able to talk to people like that . . . well at least it makes it harder and when you're just [trying to] having a good time you don't want to have to fight to try to understand somebody . . . or want to have to put more than you should to try to just have a conversation with someone. And sometimes they don't even talk to you (strongly emphasizes this). I mean if you already are not being included in circles and in dialogues in school and then you have to face that outside of school also . . . sometimes it creates a double pressure. (Figueroa, 2002, p. 54)

Double pressure and feeling unaccepted off campus by the same people who did not accept him on campus only reinforced messages of being perceived as different. Through a variety of repeated experiences around the campus with faculty, students, and staff, these students were floored to discover how other people's assumptions were made about the quality of student they were based on nothing else other than their skin color rather than their academic backgrounds. The notion of academic achievement being socially mediated links back to the concept of the geography of academic practice. Through different forms of exclusion, students developed an understanding of the ways their academic strengths did not neutralize other people's perceptions about who they were as Latinos attending West Coast University. Their experiences in these social awareness zones at West Coast University provided ongoing reminders about the ways in which they are not accepted even in a diverse institution and how much the institution neglected to integrate all its members into the social landscape.

PROSPECTIVE STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Eradicating institutional racism means raising awareness through teaching and learning environments that are reflective, responsive, responsible, reasonable, and respectful communities (Garcia, 1999). Attempting to

resolve institutional racism through a color-blind or race-neutral approach ignores, if not entirely denies, the deep-seated problems contained in our institutions. Color blindness does not flag acceptance but tolerance. A race-neutral approach makes it difficult to accept something that you pretend does not exist. Because institutions of higher education are not disconnected from society where racism runs rampant, a race-neutral approach arrogantly takes the platform of being able to monitor and impart values and beliefs that are assumed to be unconditionally accepted. In short, operating from a stance that is race neutral perpetuates institutional racism because it facilitates the idea that people do not need to be individually accountable for the historical memory of actions and events that have taken place in a context, even if those are legacies of inequality and injustice. To eradicate institutional racism, an aggressive solution translates into stepping out of comfort zones and entering into public spaces and conversational spaces where there is no shame to admit a lack of accountability in correcting an issue that for too long compromised the mission of teaching, learning, and research in our institutions of higher education. Support systems need to be in place to facilitate the dialogue that needs to not only happen in departments of ethnic studies or multicultural centers but also across disciplines and throughout the campus.

To effectively address institutional racism, the approach must be steadfast and focused on the greater vision of building higher education institutions that purposefully integrate and embrace diversity. The following strategies are based on Garcia's (1999) approach to welcoming diversity:

- *Reflective*: The tendency to locate racism beyond our own actions and thoughts works counterintuitively when effectively addressing racism. Racism exists around us and, in some instances, in us when we honestly assess what we believe about others. Creating a safe space using intergroup dialogue and exercises that surface White Privilege will help to decide how some of individuals benefit from racism, whereas others are perpetually placed at a disadvantage (McIntosh, 1989; Tatum, 2003). These dialogues will shed light on the way individual experiences with race can work to collectively mediate the mission and vision of an institution.
- *Responsive*: Gaps in understanding will surface when assessing the various perspectives of administrators, faculty, staff, and students on the historical and contemporary political workings of an institution, which might be useful in creating a more inclusive and effective teaching and learning environment. If there is a collaborative effort assumed by administrators, faculty, staff, and students, it is a shared priority. Perhaps it would be important to consider the mission statement of the

institution and how it addresses or neglects to address the issue of diversity.

- *Responsible*: Accountability structures and leadership must move in the direction of centrally incorporating discussions of diversity. This becomes a question of asking and supporting faculty to create curriculum that is more inclusive. Likewise, it means moving the understanding of diversity beyond the ethnic celebrations throughout the year. This falls in line with the work of Stark and Griffin in creating intergroup dialogue among students, but there is no reason something similar cannot be created among staff, faculty, and administrators. Conversations in and between groups need to be funded and rewarded.
- *Reasonable*: Despite a race-neutral approach in admissions, the case studies presented in this chapter reiterate the ways diversity continues to impact the way minority students participate in higher education. These narratives continue to affirm other scholars' findings in that minority students lead racialized academic experiences. Without short- and long-term goals to benchmark progress, racial formation will continue to occur.
- *Respectful*: When students of color share lived experiences in our institutions, it is important not to think of them as isolated or incidental but to question the extent to which other students have similar experiences. In speaking with faculty of color, with close to 30 years of experience in academia, about their former experience as undergraduates and graduates, we are constantly astounded by how similar their experiences are to some of the experiences confronting students today. Student narratives remain uncollected data that is undervalued, underutilized, and readily dismissed by the institution because institutional racism is narrowly viewed as a student of color problem rather than a campuswide problem. Rather than making the effort to identify the conditions in and across the institution that reinforce institutional racism, solutions are created and applied in an isolated and nominal fashion.

Keeping Garcia's (1999) five Rs in mind, a primary step to eradicating institutional racism requires accepting that racism is a real condition affecting all aspects and levels in teaching and learning as demonstrated by how the geography of academic practice was informed by social awareness zones. Comprehending the way student perception and social landscape inform one another introduces a dynamic and mediated element regarding academic achievement. Given the nature macro- and microlevels of institutional racism and the context of the UC system or West Coast University, the preceding case studies illustrate how institutional

racism centrally mitigates the way students of color respond to the relative absence of resources and opportunities. Unfortunately, when students of color either choose to contest, or share their own experiences with, institutional racism, the response is typically one of disbelief or it is considered to be an outdated complaint given the increased diversity in higher education. Student-lived experiences continue to be dismissed by faculty, staff, administrators, or other students who maintain the problem lies with the student of color.

Eradicating institutional racism means understanding that minority students' perceptions about their lived experience must be viewed as sensitive and as informing as those of White students. Too readily, minority student perceptions are considered to be a mismatch in the face of a growing diverse learning environment. Unless institutions disentangle institutional racism from the normal activities required to operate an institution, minority students will continue to live out the terms of inequality and racial injustice they have inherited.

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Guidelines for Evaluating the Racial and Cultural Environment of Graduate Training Programs in Professional Psychology

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GRADUATE TRAINING PROGRAMS in professional psychology have a tremendous responsibility in preparing clinicians, educators, researchers, and leaders for the task of addressing the mental health needs of individuals, families, organizations, and communities. This responsibility is even more urgent given the cultural context in which individuals, families, organizations, and communities are situated. Professional psychology training programs have been slow to implement curriculum that adequately addresses issues of cultural diversity in research and practice (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991; Ponterotto & Austin, 2005; Utsey, Gernat, & Bolden, 2002). Consequently, state licensing boards, accreditation bodies, and professional associations such as the American Psychological Association (APA) have articulated minimum multicultural counseling competency requirements for professional psychology training, research, and practice. For example, the APA's Committee on Accreditation, in their *Guidelines and Principles for Accreditation of Programs in Professional Psychology*, included a section (Domain D) to address issues of cultural diversity in the professional psychology training (APA, 2005). Despite these efforts, professional psychology training programs for the most part have made minimal progress in implementing a multicultural training curriculum that goes beyond a single survey course on race and ethnicity.

The APA first published the *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (hereafter referred to as the Ethics Code) in 1953 (APA, 2002). This was the first attempt to regulate the professional practice of psychology and to institute standards for professional competence. Noticeably absent from this document, however, was any mention of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation, or other factors relevant to the provision of mental health services to individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. The Ethics Code underwent revisions in 1959, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1979, 1981, and 1990 (APA, 2002); still there was no mention of racial and cultural diversity. It was not until 1992 that the APA included issues related to providing psychological services to persons from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds in their Ethics Code (APA, 1992; Caldwell & Tarver, 2005). Specifically, Section 1.08 (Human Differences) of the APA 1992 Ethics Code states:

Where differences of age, gender, race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, or socioeconomic status significantly affect psychologists' work concerning particular individuals or groups, psychologists obtain the training, experience, consultation, or supervision necessary to ensure the competence of their services, or they make appropriate referral.

In 2002, the APA updated the Ethics Code (see Standard 2.01b) to include gender identity and culture (APA, 2002).

The issue of cultural diversity was more directly addressed in a second document published by the APA. In 1990, the *Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations* (APA, 1990) was published. These guidelines, however, lack the authority of the Ethics Code and are, according to its authors, "intended to be aspirational in nature" and to "provide suggestions to psychologists working with ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse populations" (p. 3). In 2002, the APA published the more comprehensive *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (APA, 2003). In an effort to increase the document's credibility, the APA's Council of Representatives approved the document as the organization's official policy (APA, 2003). This document is much more comprehensive than the previous *Guidelines* (APA, 1990) and addresses the following areas: (a) awareness of self as a cultural being, (b) sensitivity to ethnic and racial diversity, (c) infusion of multicultural and diversity constructs in the education and training of professional psychologists, (d) conducting culturally sensitive and ethical psychological research with participants from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, (e) application of culturally appropriate counseling skills with

individuals from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, and (f) culturally informed organizational change practices. The 2002 APA *Guidelines* are by far the most complete and comprehensive mandate regarding the provisions of services, including education, research, and organizational change, to individuals from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds. However, as “guidelines” they are viewed as suggestions and lack any mechanism that would make them enforceable.

The APA’s Committee on Accreditation (hereafter the Committee), the main accrediting body for professional psychology training programs, has only recently been proactive in addressing issues of cultural diversity in the education and training of counseling, clinical, and school psychologists. Beginning in 1948, the Committee began accrediting professional psychology training programs as a means of regulating standards of professional psychology training (APA, 2005). Not until 1986, however, did issues of cultural diversity find its way into the APA’s *Accreditation Domains and Standards*. Domain D, Cultural and Individual Differences and Diversity states that “The program recognizes the importance of cultural and individual differences and diversity in the training of psychologists” (APA, 2005). Domain D dedicates two paragraphs to addressing issues of cultural diversity in professional psychology and focuses primarily on the recruitment, retention, and training of individuals from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds. Despite these best efforts by the Committee, the attention given to issues of cultural diversity in Domain D of the *Accreditation Domains and Standards* do not adequately address the issue of racial and cultural diversity in professional psychology training programs.

Domain D is inadequate as a mechanism for infusing cultural diversity into professional psychology training for several reasons. First, the guideline fails to address the institutional and structural barriers to racial and cultural inclusion. Programs housed at institutions that are not affirming of racial and cultural diversity are likely to perpetuate such practices. Second, the guidelines are broad and ambiguous, in most cases allowing minimal efforts toward racial and cultural inclusiveness to be judged acceptable. For example, a program with no African American or Latino trainees could still meet the criteria for Domain D if they have one European American from Appalachia. Or if a program can demonstrate that they have made “systematic, coherent, and long-term efforts” (p. 12) to recruit trainees from racial and cultural backgrounds, they typically meet the standards. The first author, having been on faculty at both predominantly White institutions and a historically Black college, has witnessed programs without a single African American or Latino student receive a superior rating on the Domain D standard. Third, where the *Guideline* states that “The program has and implements a thoughtful and coherent

plan to provide students with relevant knowledge and experiences about the role of cultural and individual diversity" (APA, 2005, p. 13), a single survey course will usually suffice. This practice continues despite calls by a number of scholars for change (e.g., Ponterotto, 1996, 1997; Ponterotto & Austin, 2005; Utsey, Gernat, & Bolden, 2002). Last, but certainly not least, is the lack of enforcement for programs that consistently fail to meet the criteria for Domain D. The political fallout and/or backlash that would result if a program were to be placed on probation or to lose accreditation altogether for failing to demonstrate "systematic, coherent, and long-term efforts" is predictable. Consequently, there is little expectation that Domain D will result in systematic and meaningful divergence from the status quo of tokenism, symbolic representation, and illusory rhetoric.

Given the limitations of Domain D in adequately addressing issues of racial and cultural diversity in professional psychology training, what is needed is a more comprehensive guideline for evaluating training program environments. To this end, the goal of this chapter is to provide a guideline for evaluating the racial and cultural environment of professional psychology training programs. We view these guidelines as not replacing, but complementing the existing Ethics Code and Committee guidelines of the APA. The current guidelines are also intended as a self-evaluation mechanism to be used by professional psychology training programs to assess the degree to which they are adequately addressing issues related to the racial and cultural environment experienced by their trainees. We would also point the reader toward the Multicultural Competency Program Checklist for Professional Psychology (Ponterotto, Alexander, & Grieger, 1995; Ponterotto & Austin, 2005) as another viable instrument for evaluating the racial and cultural environments of professional psychology training programs. Note that these guidelines are not meant to be exhaustive and we anticipate future updates and revisions to stay current with the ever-increasing complexity of racial and cultural issues in professional psychology.

GUIDELINES

We propose a formal guideline intended to provide a framework for evaluating the racial and cultural environment of professional psychology training programs. The proposed guidelines consist of a preamble, five domains with various subcategories, and an evaluation component. We begin by delineating each domain and its subcategories. Numerous examples are offered to illuminate the spirit of the guidelines. Prior to concluding, we address the evaluation of professional psychology training environments as it relates to affirming racial and cultural inclusion. Finally, we conclude with a few thoughts on the guidelines as praxis for systematic change.

INTRODUCTION TO GUIDELINES

The following guidelines are intended to provide a framework for professional psychology training programs to establish a racially and culturally affirming environment. At this same time, the guidelines provide a standard for judging the effectiveness of multicultural training curriculum. The specific goals of the guidelines are as follows: (a) provide professional psychology training programs with a blueprint for achieving institutional-level racial and cultural inclusiveness, (b) establish a criteria for evaluating the degree to which training environments affirm racial and cultural diversity, (c) serve as a guide for developing multicultural curriculum, and (d) provide a standard for culturally relevant clinical and research training.

I. Domain A: Program Demonstrates Commitment to Racial and Cultural Inclusiveness (refers to creating a culturally diverse program environment and providing equal opportunities for ethnic minorities)

A. Administration

1. Objectives, regarding diversity of the department and the program, should be consistent.
2. Policies on racial and cultural inclusion.
 - a. Policies that address the inclusion of ethnic minorities and provide guidelines for addressing discriminatory practices or allegations should be made readily available for review.
 - b. Policies should be regularly evaluated to assess the extent to which they are implemented. These policies should remain current based on trends affecting issues of cultural inclusions and the changing demographics of the students or faculty.
 - c. Evidence of policy implementation should be apparent throughout all facets of the program—graduate office, overall psychology program, and specific psychology training domains.

B. Department

1. Statement on racial and cultural inclusion.
 - a. Departments should develop mission statements on goals for racial and ethnic inclusion. Policies should be applicable to faculty and students (e.g., “One of the main goals for this department is to encourage racial and cultural inclusion in our administration, faculty, student body, and throughout our training programs to . . .”).
 - b. Departments should aggressively promote racial and cultural diversity among students, faculty, administration, and staff.
2. Commitment to staying current on issues related to race and culture. Students benefit most from the knowledge of their faculty

members. If faculty members are not knowledgeable and/or comfortable discussing issues of race and culture, it is likely that their students will also not be knowledgeable or comfortable discussing these issues.

- a. A department and program level task force on racial and cultural issues in training should be established.
- b. Faculty members are required to stay current regarding issues of race and culture in both clinical practice and research.
3. Active recruitment of faculty and students.
 - a. When recruiting faculty and students, departments should include the use of list-serves that target ethnic minority groups (APA's Minority Fellowship Program, mfp@apa.org; Association of Black Psychologists, <http://www.abpsi.org/contact.htm>; Asian American Psychological Association, <http://www.west.asu.edu/aapa>; National Latino Psychological Association, <http://web.arizona.edu/~nlpa>; Society of Indian Psychologist, <http://www.geocities.com/indianpsych>; APA's Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs, <http://www.apa.org/pi/oema>).
 - b. Posting announcements in programs for conferences that are often attended by ethnic minorities (e.g., Association of Black Psychologists Conference, Asian American Psychological Association Annual Convention, Teachers College Roundtable on Cultural Psychology and Education, and the National Multicultural Conference and Summit).
4. Efforts to increase completion of program (among students) and professional development (among students and faculty) to increase retention rates.
 - a. Early intervention when it appears that students are having difficulty adjusting or falling behind in programmatic responsibilities.
 - b. Demonstration of commitment to "multiculturalism" and needs of ethnic minority groups by promoting trainings and involvement in activities targeting these groups.
5. Monitor the matriculation of students and faculty.
 - a. Departmental faculty should make efforts to become aware of issues that can positively or negatively affect the matriculation of ethnic minority students and faculty. Positive issues may include opportunities to collaborate with faculty outside of the department and the receipt of funding for ethnic minority researchers that can facilitate research projects. Negative issues may involve barriers to being able

to establish independent research (e.g., lack of departmental support or interdisciplinary research networks) or perceived lack of support in the program and in the community at large.

- b. Departments should keep records of complaints filed against faculty or students on issues related to race, culture, gender, or sexual orientation. Keeping records of such complaints will allow departments to better track and address concerns that may arise regarding these issues.
 6. Departments and programs should include data regarding the racial and cultural diversity of the city, town, or state in which they are located. This information allows faculty and students to make informed decisions when choosing to relocate to a city that may or may not include a sizeable portion of people representing their own race or ethnicity. It contributes to the development of more realistic research plans based on knowledge of populations available.
 7. Department and programs should maintain and disseminate data regarding the number of ethnic minorities currently in their program, graduation rates, program alumni, and so on.
 - a. Faculty and students can assess and be aware of trends that may have contributed to favorable or unfavorable graduation rates.
 - b. Ethnic minority alumni should be encouraged to serve as a resource for current graduate students and/or a potential research partnership for new faculty members. Alumni involvement demonstrates their commitment to the program, which may be directly related to their experiences while in the program.
- C. Program
1. Policies and Mission statement.
 - a. The program should develop a mission statement reflecting the importance of and commitment to racial and cultural diversity. This statement should be specific to the particular division (e.g., clinical, counseling) and should reflect the training goals of that program.
 - b. Policies should state expectations for trainees and supervisors/professors.
 - c. Program objectives should address the goal of transitioning trainees from a state of awareness to competence when dealing with clients' racially and culturally diverse backgrounds.

- d. Programs should promote an appreciation of racial and cultural diversity that is reflected in curriculum (i.e., history of psychology), theoretical frameworks explored, clinical training, training resources, and community awareness.
 - e. Programs should maintain a network in which students may be involved with racially and culturally diverse faculty. Moreover, faculty should be actively involved in research dealing with ethnically diverse groups, and have clinical experiences and/or insight regarding such populations.
 - f. Programs should play active roles in advocacy and social justice for diverse populations negatively affected by institutional barriers and social injustices (e.g., prejudice, discrimination, and oppression). This would include addressing current topics or critical issues in courses, training experiences, and supervision.
2. Faculty Trainings and Research.
- a. Faculty should be encouraged to examine how their research may or may not generalize to other ethnic groups.
 - b. Annual trainings to address "current topics" related to cultural competencies. Topics could include research regarding effective strategies for maintaining client commitment or presentation of current events that are related to cultural competency in psychology (e.g., efforts to understand historical and contemporary issues contributing to increases in violence in various ethnic minority communities). Additionally, trainings may address research about effective health promotion activities to address existing health disparities.
- D. Student Recruitment and Admissions
- 1. Faculty should thoroughly consider factors beyond traditional indicators of scholastic ability (e.g., GRE scores and grade point average) when making admission decisions.
 - a. Although grade point average (GPA) may speak to academic potential, GRE scores do not necessarily reflect potential for success among minority students. Additionally, while many ethnic minority students may have strong intellect, they may not have been afforded opportunities for research that involved dissemination of information if coming from an undergraduate school or from smaller institutions in which publication or presentation of research was not readily available.

- b. Other factors to consider when recruiting and admitting students may include:
 - i. The development of research interests and research plans coupled by the fit between these interests and available resources at the institution.
 - ii. Potential for adapting to the program environment (as reflected in experiences mentioned in the student's statement of interest, opportunities to engage in various levels of involvement on diverse types of projects).
2. Programs should make a conscious effort to avoid the practice of tokenism in the admission of racial or ethnic minorities.
3. Programs should consider the racial and cultural attitudes of students seeking admittance to programs. This type of effort is informative in various ways:
 - a. Applicants become aware of the significance of cultural competence (similar to their awareness of the benefit of having clinical or research experience) for the interview process and their clinical training.
 - b. Programs can assess areas of growth for prospective applicants.
 - c. This effort begins the process of promoting tolerance among student cohorts and opens a dialogue regarding diversity, clinical practice, and research.
4. Programs should openly acknowledge and discuss reasons for seeking competent and competitive minority applicants (e.g., the need to reflect real-world working environments, and for the provision of opportunities for diverse peer supervision/consultation).
5. Programs should promote minority student involvement in the admission's process. When appropriate, students can contribute to the application review process and participate in admissions activities (i.e., interviewee lunches, welcome socials, and informational sessions). Involvement of the program's current ethnic minority students can also provide applicants with the opportunity to ask questions they might not feel comfortable asking members of the majority group.
6. In the effort to obtain competitive minority applicants, departments and programs should explore programs existing at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) throughout the country. These programs often house African American students (and, more recently, students of other ethnic

backgrounds) who are prepared to become strong graduate students and future professionals in psychology. Various HBCUs hold graduate school fairs at which representatives from other institutions may:

- a. Meet potential applicants.
 - b. Inform students of opportunities available at specific institutions.
7. All program personnel involved in the admissions' process should have training in racial/cultural issues that may be relevant to the interview process. This is particularly valuable to avoid inappropriate interpretations of interviewee behavior.
- E. Faculty Recruitment
1. The program should strive for the active recruitment of individuals from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.
 - a. As with university administrative efforts, individual programs can:
 - i. Use list-serves that target ethnic minority groups (e.g., APA's Minority Fellowship Program, mfp@apa.org; Association of Black Psychologists, <http://www.abpsi.org/contact.htm>; Asian American Psychological Association, <http://www.west.asu.edu/aapa>; National Latino Psychological Association, <http://web.arizona.edu/~nlpa>; Society of Indian Psychologist, <http://www.geocities.com/indianpsych>; APA's Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs, <http://www.apa.org/pi/oema>).
 - ii. Post announcements in programs for conferences that are often attended by ethnic minorities (e.g., Association of Black Psychologists Conference, Asian American Psychological Association Annual Convention, National Latino Psychological Association Annual Conference, Society of Indian Psychologists National Conference).
 2. Programs should openly acknowledge and discuss the reasons that they seek competent and competitive ethnic minority faculty (e.g., to compliment efforts to train culturally competent psychologists and to provide culturally diverse perspectives on current research topics).
 3. Programs should promote minority student and faculty's involvement in efforts to recruit minority faculty.
 4. Although the importance of having representative faculty should be discussed openly, programs should avoid tokenism in the hiring of minority faculty.

F. Mentoring

1. When mentoring minority students, faculty should acknowledge how differences in ethnicity or race can influence the mentor-student relationship. Failure to do so, can affect the trainee's comfort level when presenting potentially sensitive issues related to race, gender, or ethnicity to the mentor. Doing so may allow students to feel increasingly comfortable discussing a variety of issues including, but not limited to, racial or ethnic issues.
2. Mentors should also recognize that minority students may have unique experiences related to their race or ethnicity while in the graduate training program. Thus, it is important for mentors to be prepared to discuss such experiences with students. In the event that these experiences are negative, mentors should be willing to help students deal with the event. It is also important for mentors to maintain appropriate levels of confidentiality regarding trainees' experiences.
3. The role of a mentor includes helping students develop their research interests as well as the knowledge and skills necessary to conduct reputable research based on their interests (e.g., appropriate methods for conducting research with racial and ethnic minorities).
4. Mentors should encourage students to obtain membership in professional organizations targeting the professional development of ethnic and racial minority students and research related to ethnic minority populations. At the same time, participation in larger, mainstream professional organizations should also be encouraged.
5. Mentors should encourage trainees to assess their level of cultural awareness and make efforts to expand on their awareness.

II. Domain B: Program Environment Promotes Racial and Cultural Diversity

A. Support for Trainees

1. Programs should support student and faculty interests and efforts related to completing research issues targeting ethnic minorities.
2. Programs should support student and faculty involvement in diverse cultural, nonacademic activities. This can include activities that seek to promote the development of various communalities and activities through offices of multicultural affairs.

3. Programs should encourage and inform students of financial resources or professional development opportunities that are available for ethnic minority students.
4. Programs should encourage minority students to be involved in the departmental service initiatives such as serving on review committees and faculty recruitment committees. This should be presented as an opportunity for students to learn about the processes instead of being promoted as serving on committees as a token minority to fulfill the institution's requirement for having a diverse committee.
5. Programs should provide diverse opportunities for socialization in the department (e.g., picnics or departmental athletic activities). Programs should avoid imposing the majority groups' norms for social activities onto ethnic minorities.
6. Programs should be aware of holiday initiatives that may have relevance for minority students (e.g., Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, Lunar New Year, or Ramadan).
7. Programs should understand and support ethnic minority students' involvement in familial, community, or professional activities that affirm their value system and provide an opportunity to connect with other individuals of their ethnic group.
 - a. Program leadership should maintain sensitivity to inherent privileges, which are available to students who are members of the majority culture but are less available to ethnic minority students. For example, in many programs there is a small ratio of ethnic minority students, thus there is restricted opportunity to have interpersonal involvement with individuals who share their same ethnic background and experiences. In addition to not having someone to share and celebrate their ethnic traditions/customs, ethnic minority students are often unjustly expected to appreciate and celebrate experiences and values of the majority culture, even if those values do not parallel their own.
 - b. Also, certain ethnic groups maintain a strong group identity orientation. This orientation may make the need to benefit from the support and shared experiences of other group members, particularly family, a critical contribution to the success of members of these ethnic minority groups in traditional psychology graduate programs.
 - c. Finally, there should be support for students interested in attending conferences specific to, but not limited to, their ethnic group. Often, ethnic minority graduate students are

involved in or have an interest in research related to their own ethnic group or another ethnic minority group. Conferences targeting ethnic minorities allow for networking and collaboration opportunities that may not be as evident at large, more general conferences.

B. Availability of Training Materials and Resources

1. All students should be educated about non-European contributions to psychology and other social science areas.
2. Resources should be available that meet the needs and reflect images and values of diverse groups being serviced by the program. These resources include items such as room decorations, historical resources, games for youth, self-help books for individuals and families (e.g., *Black Families in Therapy* by Boyd-Franklin, and *Something Beautiful* by Sharon Wyeth).
3. Programs are responsible for affording students the opportunity to work with diverse populations (in both clinical and research experiences).

III. Domain C: Curriculum and Training

A. Courses Should Reflect Integration of Racial and Cultural Content

1. Courses should facilitate:
 - a. Geographic and historical exploration of the community to which the training clinic provides services. This type of exploration provides a context for what will be learned in class versus discussing things in an abstract manner.
 - b. Use of racially and culturally diverse case examples or speakers who reflect what the counseling experience is like for ethnic minorities to provide current examples of how to deal with cultural issues in therapy.
 - c. Discussion/exploration of sociopolitical or institutional issues that affect the adjustment of ethnic minorities (i.e., socioeconomic restrictions, limited insurance even if working, and desire to avoid stigmatization at work, which results in refraining from using insurance even if it is available). This promotes the ability to understand and educate others about how discriminatory practices operate at the community level.

B. Adequate Courses Specific to Racial/Cultural Issues and Special Populations

1. Explore and understand in-group differences among ethnic groups. Given that most racial groups are composed of many different ethnic groups, awareness of similarities and differences in these groups should be shared with a new therapist.

2. Curriculum should include courses in theories of multicultural counseling and research.
 3. The curriculum should cover the history and philosophy of psychology including the contribution of culturally diverse individuals, as well as the impact of the profession on diverse populations throughout time.
 - a. Particular attention should be given to historical information and recent developments that affect the experiences of the individuals whom the trainee is most likely to encounter in the training environment (e.g., training centers at institutions surrounded by primarily large African American, Asian, or Latino groups should be given special attention to the historical experiences of these groups).
 4. Provide an understanding of how racial and cultural issues affect research and helping processes (i.e., therapy and other interventions).
 5. Require students to examine their own attitudes, beliefs, and experiences with diverse racial and ethnic populations and issues related to diverse populations.
 6. Training in testing, assessment, and diagnosis should reflect the most current technology related to culturally appropriate practice.
 7. Students should be encouraged to seek educational and training experiences beyond what is required in the curriculum to enhance their understanding of racial and ethnically diverse populations and issues.
- C. Culturally Relevant Theories and Techniques of Counseling and Psychotherapy
1. Training programs should promote trainees ability to adapt their treatment philosophy and approaches to accommodate cultural differences and diverse client needs (i.e., when working with some diverse groups, it might be necessary to amend the policy of not calling clients to remind them of sessions).
 - a. Instead of assuming an attitude that holds clients solely responsible for their treatment, student therapists should be encouraged to model responsible and empathetic behavior toward therapy. This builds trust and suggests an interest in clients' wellness.
 - b. Suggestions that African Americans families of lower socioeconomic levels should leave existing community to provide better educational resources for their children may negate the emphasis placed on community and strength that

comes from such a resource. Culturally competent therapists should be trained to understand that what constitutes healthy behaviors for the majority group, may not be as adaptive for other ethnic groups.

2. Trainees should be encouraged to assess client strengths and weaknesses and use findings to support and empower the client.
3. Address the notion that mental disorders may manifest differently or be interpreted differently in diverse ethnic groups. This can help with differential diagnoses (i.e., among some groups, depression may manifest as anger, hostility, or frustration).
4. Training should incorporate an environment-person-fit model, to acknowledge the importance of context and make efforts to avoid stigmatization.
5. Trainees should be encouraged to consider and explore non-mainstream strategies for therapeutic care.
6. Trainees should explore family histories of their racial and cultural minority clients in a meaningful way. Genograms can be helpful in this effort and provide a product for the client to take away from therapy. This should be done in a sensitive manner considering the historical encounters of different ethnic groups.
7. Trainees should be made aware of culturally grounded approaches to mainstream methods of therapy. For example, when using cognitive behavioral therapy with African Americans, clients should be transitioned into a “lessons learned” understanding of their issue versus a “why me” approach.
8. Students and faculty should be made aware of the validity and limitations of instruments used to assess individuals from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds.

IV. Domain D: Clinical Training

A. Clinical Training Should Reflect Post-Training Realities

1. Courses should foster students’ awareness of mental health issues affecting racially and culturally diverse communities.
2. It is important for training programs to facilitate minority students’ self-examination so that they can be aware of their own intraracial biases as well as biases to other ethnic groups.
3. It is important for White students to explore aspects of White identity in themselves and in relation to interactions with other racial/ethnic groups. This should include a critical assessment and acknowledgment of White privilege. White privilege, in

this instance, is defined as a right, advantage, or immunity granted to or enjoyed by White persons beyond the common advantage of all others (McIntosh, 1992). In many cases, it includes an exemption from certain burdens or liabilities.

4. Trainees should be encouraged, when necessary, to discuss issues of culture and race with their clients.
 5. It is important for training programs to acknowledge and explore how racism has and continues to (whether directly or indirectly) affect communities that the training agency serves.
- B. Materials and Resources Should Appropriately Meet Needs of Ethnically Diverse Trainees and Clientele
1. Trainees should be familiar with resource materials that support their therapeutic efforts when working with members of racial and cultural minority groups.
 2. Trainees should be accountable for utilizing resources and supplementary materials that reflect images/values of those racially and culturally diverse groups being serviced.
 3. There should be careful supervision regarding bias, reckless use, and/or inappropriate interpretations with assessment instruments.
 - a. Faculty and students receive proper training in the administration and interpretation of personality measures and cognitive ability tests with racial and cultural clients.
 - b. Information regarding cultural use in assessment should be thoroughly addressed in assessment courses. Additionally, this information should be reviewed and addressed in applied assessment contexts.
 4. Departments should maintain a resource library with materials regarding racial and cultural issues. Materials may include:
 - a. Various journals or books that target ethnic minority issues (e.g., *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *Journal of Black Psychology*, *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*; the Sage Series titled, *Multicultural Aspects of Counseling*; and Constantine and Sue's edited book *Strategies for Building Multicultural Competence*).
 - b. Measures for monitoring therapeutic progress that have proven helpful with racial and cultural minority clients.
 - c. Up-to-date videos that address sociocultural issues (e.g., from the National Multicultural Training Institute, APA, or Microtraining and Multicultural Development).
 - d. Toys, games, videos, and books that have themes representing various racial or cultural groups, as well as diverse so-

cial issues (e.g., adjusting to adoption, coping with divorce, living in urban areas, or living with a handicap).

C. Supervision by Individuals Competent in Racial and Cultural Issues

1. Supervision should address the difference between awareness, knowledge, and skills. These issues should be addressed throughout the clinical training experience.
2. To facilitate cultural competence through clinical training, programs should attempt to have supervisors from diverse racial and cultural background who bring different perspectives.
 - a. This may include seeking out supervisors who are not traditionally involved with the university, but who may have an interest in such collaborations.
 - b. If departments are not familiar with ethnic minority clinicians in their geographical area, recruitment may occur through advertisements in bulletins at conferences that target ethnic minority professionals.
3. Supervisors should recognize that diverse students have diverse learning styles.
 - a. Supervisors should structure supervision in ways consistent with diverse learning styles of racial and cultural trainees (e.g., handouts, video, and role playing).
 - b. Supervisors can gauge the various learning styles of trainees by:
 - i. Surveying trainees to assess which strategies work best for the supervision sessions.
 - ii. Supporting and encouraging trainees to share feelings about how supervision time can be used in the most optimal manner.

V. Evaluation

1. It is important that programs evaluate their effectiveness at increasing cultural competence among trainees to improve the program's multicultural training component.
 - a. Programs should compile periodic (i.e., annual or biannual) reports that illustrate how multicultural issues are addressed in courses. Given that the number of ethnic minorities living in the United States continues to increase, the amount of attention dedicated to understanding issues affecting these groups should increase as well.
 - b. Course/supervisor evaluations should include inquiries about the extent and quality of the inclusion of issues related to race and culture.

- c. Programs should conduct an assessment to measure how well the program meets its goals for racial and cultural diversity.
 - d. Students should be evaluated regularly on their development of cultural awareness and competencies in multicultural counseling.
 - e. Students should be required to conduct self-evaluations on their development as a culturally aware counselor.
2. Programs should evaluate various aspects of the experiences of racially and culturally diverse trainees to assist in efforts to improve the experiences of racially and culturally diverse trainees.
 - a. Surveys should be conducted to assess the experiences of racially and culturally diverse trainees.
 - b. Programs should evaluate the graduation rates for racially and culturally diverse trainees.
 - c. Surveys should be conducted to assess postgraduate professional achievement (e.g., post-doc, academic appointments, and licensure) among racially and culturally diverse trainees.

CONCLUSIONS

Increasing racial and cultural diversity among the consumers of psychological services has forced professional psychology graduate training directors to seek new, more culturally appropriate techniques for preparing their trainees for the twenty-first century. Consequently, in the past 25 years, we have witnessed an explosion in the number of professional psychology training programs that have incorporated multicultural issues into their counseling and training curriculum. Despite the recent emphasis on racial and cultural diversity in professional psychology training, few graduate programs have actually moved beyond a single survey course. Even fewer programs have sought to create a training environment that is truly racially and culturally affirming.

The purpose of this chapter was to present a set of guidelines for evaluating the racial and cultural environments of graduate training programs in professional psychology. These guidelines encourage programs to go beyond the cursory attention given to racial and cultural diversity in Domain D of the APA's Committee on Accreditation and the *Guidelines and Principles for Accreditation of Professional Programs in Psychology*. Moreover, training programs are encouraged to incorporate these guidelines, or aspects of them, into their department-wide strategic plan. It should be noted that the guidelines not only provide a plan for creating a training environment that is racially and culturally affirming, they provide an assessment tool for

evaluating a program's progress toward these goals. Other scholars have proposed quantitative approaches to assessing program adherence to multicultural competence guidelines. For example, Ponterotto et al. (1995) developed a multicultural competency checklist for counseling psychology training programs. This measure is a 24-item checklist consisting of the following domains: (a) Minority Representation, (b) Curriculum Issues, (c) Clinical Practice, Supervision, and Immersion, (d) Research Considerations, (e) Student and Faculty Competency Evaluation, and (f) Physical Environment. We highly recommend that this instrument be used as a means of evaluating the current racial and cultural training environment guidelines.

Achieving a racially and culturally affirming training environment will require a long-term and sustained effort toward institutional change. We offer these guidelines as a blueprint for professional psychology training programs to move toward racial and cultural affirmation and inclusiveness. Professional psychology training directors are invited to modify these guidelines to fit the unique circumstances of their training environment or to use them as a guide in developing their own blueprint for a racially and culturally affirming training environment. These guidelines are offered in the spirit of continued dialogue that affirms the importance of racial and cultural factors in professional psychology training, and the authors hope to ignite further discussion on the topic.

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PART IV

Eradicating Racism: Future Directions

CHAPTER 14

Five Antiracism Strategies

PAUL PEDERSEN

RACISM HAS BEEN described as combining prejudice with the power to enforce those prejudices on others according to their *race*. There is, however, a great deal of controversy surrounding the use of the construct race. Helms (1990) and others have emphasized the importance of race and racial identity as meaningful constructs. Other authors (Atkinson, Morton, & Sue, 1993) have argued against the use of race as a one-dimensional category because of its pseudoscientific associations with a biological classification that has been discredited by anthropological and other biological sciences. The political reality of race and racism has survived—and perhaps flourished—even though the scientific basis of race has been discredited. Antiracism strategies require an understanding of the context in which racism occurs as a political reality.

Racism has been described as “based on beliefs and reflected in behaviors that accept race as a biological entity and maintain that racial groups, other than one’s own, are intellectually, psychologically, and/or physically inferior” (Casas, 2005, p. 502). Racism is not limited to racial group differences but is also applied to more broadly defined cultural and ethnic differences. Also, racism typically is not limited to overt behaviors but also can be expressed in opinions, attitudes, and ideologies that may lead to overt behaviors of racism. This chapter explores five basic antiracism strategies, which are helpful in preventing our encapsulation by racism—broadly defined.

ANTIRACISM STRATEGY I: BE AWARE OF THE HISTORY OF RACISM AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Ponterotto, Utsey, and Pedersen (in press) describe the history of racism going back to prehistoric times and point out that some scientists suggest

evolution genetically predisposed humans to harbor attitudes and feelings of racial prejudice. According to this view, tendencies toward racism are the evolutionary by-product of adaptive survival allowing early humans to distinguish between friend and enemy. They continue to suggest that natural selection led humans to rely on physical markers to assess the threat potential of others. It is clear that racism is deeply rooted in social, cultural, and, perhaps, even biological aspects of the human experience.

Miles (1989) gives a concise history of modern racism as a rationale to justify world domination by European colonial powers. He also provides a critical analysis of the controversies surrounding the topic of racism. A strong case is made for the usefulness of racism as a political concept for understanding geopolitics. Miles acknowledges that the term *race* is discredited as a scientific/biological term and is negatively loaded as a term of political abuse. It is the *political* implication of the term *racism* that gives the construct of race a meaning. First, he takes a historical view of racism going back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it applied primarily to differences between Europeans and Muslims and was used to justify colonial exploitation and the crusades. Second, Miles also links racism to “the capitalist mode of production” bringing in the close relationship between racism and socioeconomic factors. Third, the author brings in the Western world context of racism as a philosophical construct of cultural beliefs that favors some cultural groups over others. These three factors provide the context in which racism is best understood.

The concept of racism is frequently used as an ideology to categorize people and for the attribution of meaning to those categories. There is a similarity between racism, nationalism, and sexism in this regard as negative forces in modern society. Racism brutalizes and dehumanizes both its object and those who articulate it. It is therefore a problem for the total social context where it is articulated and where it promotes exclusionary practices. Racism has come to represent a pervasive force of exploitation by one group against other groups where the protection and promotion of self-interest becomes more important than fairness, equity, justice, and truth.

There are several factors that are important to a historical understanding of racism toward the less powerful outsiders by the more powerful insiders, according to Miles (1989):

- Representations of outsiders implies both *including* those who are like us and *excluding* those who are not like us, in which there is an implied superiority/inferiority relationship. Exclusion and inclusion are the two sides of racism.

- Racism is not limited to Black/White relationships or even the colonial context but has been widely applied elsewhere.
- Racist representations of the outsider change along with the changing social, economic, or political conditions, with attention to class differences.
- Physical features, such as skin color or other phenotypical characteristics, are often used to characterize the outsider although racism does not require these features.
- Scientific discourse, if based on the assumptions of representational inclusion/exclusion, may be used to legitimize those earlier representations.

Miles (1989) links racism to the process of seeing history in racial terms, where the powerful are separated from the powerless and where those in power are presumed to have the right or even the responsibility to exclude the powerless from consideration. Racism serves a useful function for the dominant culture. As an ideology, it is necessary to acknowledge the complexity of racism, avoiding simplistic applications to historical events. As a political and economic force, it is always essential to view racism with regard to the consequences of providing access to power to some while excluding others. Racism may often include contradictory and multidimensional ideas in an unthinking, nonrational, and unexamined justification for prejudicial action.

Segall, Dasen, Berry, and Poortinga (1990), in a review of human behavior in global perspective, point out the continuation of unexamined assumptions with regard to research on intelligence: "Much of the writing and thinking about race and intelligence has been sloppy, irrational, politically motivated, and extremely costly in human terms" (p. 100). The controversy surrounding Jensen's (1969) research on intelligence and racial identity has demonstrated how both sides of the argument cite scientific evidence in support of their position. There are many other examples of research on intelligence in multiracial societies where one group has been politically and economically dominant and where the less powerful groups have been targets of discrimination justified on the basis of "racial differences" in intelligence. These attitudes toward culturally different groups can be traced to "scientific racism" and European American ethnocentrism in psychology. D. W. Sue and D. Sue (2003) have described the genetic deficiency model, which promoted the idea that Whites were superior to Blacks and other non-White populations for biological reasons. These beliefs have been traced to the early scientific writings of Charles Darwin and Sir Frances Galton. The scientific arguments

for racial discrimination persist particularly in the literature about culturally biased tests. Lifton's (1986) book *The Nazi Doctors* is overpowering in its documentation of how some of the most advanced and distinguished scientists of that time could be so profoundly misled by their unexamined assumptions about racial issues with disastrous consequences. Even good science can become bent by bad assumptions.

The scientific response to racism has tended to be simplistic. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides a good example of how powerful unintentional racism can be. Nathan Glazer (1975) took the position that when the government outlawed racial discrimination then racial minorities would be able to advance themselves much as European immigrants had, so that each individual would be judged according to merit, and be given equal opportunities. Ronald Takaki (1987) attacks that view as simplistic. Merely prohibiting racial discrimination will not create equal opportunities in a society of unequal groups. "Structures of inequality such as poverty, inferior education, occupational stratification, and inner-city ghettos required the government to act affirmatively and to promote opportunities for racial minorities based on group rights. The ideas of individualism and meritocracy actually reinforced the reality of racial inequality, for they in effect blamed minorities themselves for their impoverished conditions" (Takaki, 1987, p. 11).

ANTIRACISM STRATEGY II: KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF POWER DIFFERENCE IN PROMOTING RACISM

Although theories of cultural and ethnic identity development disagree regarding the highest or final stage of identity development they generally agree that the lowest stage is where people are captured by racism and prejudice. The most frequently encountered examples of racism and prejudice are displayed by what White (1984) called a "Euro-American ethnocentricity." According to this perspective, the criteria for normal behavior, personal beauty, and competence are based on characteristics associated with a dominant culture in the European and later Euro-American traditions. D. W. Sue (2003) gives the most articulate description of this position:

You do not have to be actively racist to contribute to the racism problem. Inaction, itself, is tacit agreement that racism is acceptable; and because White Americans enjoy the benefits, privileges and opportunities of the oppressive system, they inevitably are racist by both commission and omission. As a result, it is my contention that White racism is truly a

White problem and that it is the responsibility of my White brothers and sisters to be centrally involved in combating and ending racial oppression. (p. 99)

McIntosh (1988) has spoken and written widely about White Privilege, outlining specific privileges enjoyed by the dominant class:

I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets, which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious. . . . The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. . . . Some privileges make me feel at home in the world. Others allow me to escape penalties or dangers which others suffer. . . . I [can] measure up to the cultural standards and take advantage of the many options I [see] around me to make what the culture would call a success of my life. . . . Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow them to be more like us. . . . Moreover, though privilege may confer power, it does not confer moral strength. (pp. 1–13)

Access to power is a recurring theme in examining racism. Taylor and Moghaddam (1987) describe theories of intergroup relations that attempt to explain prejudice and racism between more powerful and less powerful groups.

First, there is realistic conflict theory, which assumes that people working toward shared goals develop a sense of group identity. Conflict between groups arises when there is competition for scarce resources. Intergroup cooperation emerges when there are superordinate goals requiring groups to combine their resources. People are guided by self-interest.

Second, there is social identity theory, where people make social comparisons between their own group and other groups to determine their social identity. Sometimes this process leads to a negative social identity and dissatisfaction, leading to changes of the relationships between groups toward a more just and fair balance. Sometimes it is not possible to identify with the group of first choice.

Third, there is equity theory, where people strive for justice in their relationships and avoid injustice. A relationship is judged “just” when the ratio of one group’s inputs and outcomes are equal to those of other groups. When that ratio is unequal, psychological distress will be experienced by both groups, requiring the restoration of justice. This perspective favors advantaged groups and tends to be simplistic.

Fourth, there is relative deprivation theory, where discontent results from comparison with “better off” groups. People believe that they can attain and deserve a better situation than they have. The basis of social comparisons is almost always biased in favor of the more powerful groups.

Fifth, there is elite theory, where talented individuals move up into the elite and those with less talent move down. If this circulation of talent is not allowed, the governing elite will be overthrown. This explanation polarizes society into powerful and powerless categories.

The differentiation of culturally defined groups in their own separate identity (e.g., Black, Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American) and the increased awareness of each person’s cultural identity are further reflected in the range of labels indicating or implying powerful or powerless characteristics. The importance of developing a multicultural identity is clearly documented in these socioeconomic and political trends of our times. Liberation movements for women, People of Color, persons with disabilities, elderly people, and other special populations in the 1960s and 1970s began to accept the idea that judging all populations by a narrow standard was racist and dominated by prejudice. Special populations began to develop their own separate criteria for group identity. A wide range of psychologies classified specific groups of “third-world minorities,” ethno-cultural groups, and specific special populations according to different and separate characteristics.

ANTIRACISM STRATEGY III: RECOGNIZE THAT NOT ALL RACIST BEHAVIORS ARE DONE INTENTIONALLY

The concept of racism has broadened as we have become more aware of its complexity in recent years. Ridley (2005) points out some underlying assumptions about modern racism that demonstrate its pervasiveness. Racism is reflected in behavior, in what the person does rather than how that person feels or thinks, although attitudes are important in motivating people to behave differently. Racist acts can be performed by both prejudiced and nonprejudiced persons. There is no causal relationship in which racism depends on prejudice as its antecedent. A well-intentioned but misinformed person can still behave in racist ways. Further, racism is not the sole responsibility of any single ethnic group. The ultimate criteria for judging an act as racist lie in the consequences rather than the causes of the behavior. Consciousness raising is not, however, enough to eliminate racism and will not by itself prevent racist acts. That is because racism is perpetuated by the power or powerlessness of groups with respect to one another.

Counselors who presume that they are free of racism seriously underestimate the impact of their own socialization. In most cases, this racism emerges as an *unintentional* action by well-meaning, right-thinking, good-hearted, caring professionals who are probably no more or less free from cultural bias than other members of the general public. Sedlacek and Brooks (1976) contend that most racism is unknowing or unintentional where people are unaware of the racist effects of their behavior. The key to changing the unintentional racist lies in examining basic underlying assumptions. Although these culturally learned basic underlying assumptions control our behavior, our perceptions or understanding of rational behavior, and our definition of truth, they usually remain unexamined. There is no course titled “Underlying Assumptions of Counseling” nor is this a frequent arena of research except perhaps in research on perception. There is rather the assumption that we all have the same understanding.

We depend on scientific objectivity to protect us from unintentional racism. In at least some cases, however, the very research on which we have depended to identify data-based truth has contained implicit, unexamined assumptions, which have continued this unintentional racism.

Science has provided reliable and valid data to help solve many of the problems in the modern world. We have come to depend on science to solve all of our problems, because science has come to represent values of objectivity, fairness, and truth. However, the scientific method can only be as objective, fair, and truthful as the original underlying assumptions defining a particular area of scientific inquiry. The weakness of science is not in its methods but rather in the assumptions—both examined and unexamined—of the scientists using and applying those methods.

It is extremely important for counselors to understand how terms such as *racism* are being used in the literature and by their clients. Ridley (2005) identified several examples in his analysis of racism process variables, demonstrating strategies for reducing intentional and unintentional racism.

First, the counselor might contend that all clients are treated equally, regardless of color. Color blindness is sometimes a rationalization for a counselor who needs to feel impartial, who is uncomfortable discussing ethnic/racial issues, who is insecure about her/his own views about race, or who has several unresolved issues regarding race. The error is to abstract the minority client from the client’s specific cultural context, while abstracting the counselor from the counselor’s cultural context as well. As a consequence, deviations from this abstract normal become pathological. The counselor is likely to apply a self-reference criterion in judging others according to what the counselor would say, do, or feel under the same conditions.

Second, counselors might become color conscious, assuming that all of a client's problems derive from the client's cultural background. The assumption is that each culture has developed an inevitable and irreversible pattern that is their destiny. Terms such as *culturally deprived*, *underprivileged*, and even the term *minority* itself may result from color consciousness. The counselor may experience guilt about the treatment of oppressed minorities and feel a need to atone for that guilt, while perhaps overlooking instances of real psychopathology independent of the client's cultural background.

Third, clients may exhibit cultural transference. Clients work through their emotions and experiences by transferring feelings to the counselor from their background experiences. If a client has had positive or negative experiences with people from the counselor's cultural group, he or she will likely transfer those positive or negative feelings to the counselor. The therapist may fail to recognize a client's positive or negative behavior as a transference phenomenon and will therefore be less likely to respond appropriately.

Fourth, counselors might exhibit cultural countertransference. This refers to a counselor being influenced by previous positive or negative experiences with people from the client's culture. The counselor's assessment of a culturally different client might be distorted by irrational projections. Consequently, the counselors might focus more on their own projections than the client's actual problem.

Fifth, counselors might misinterpret cultural ambivalence. Cross-cultural therapy is complicated by power and control needs by both the counselor and the client. Counselors might respond in either a condescending or paternalistic manner to reinforce learned helplessness and client passivity. A more dependent counselor might respond to cultural ambivalence with guilt feelings and might easily be manipulated by a perceptive client. As a result, the focus of counseling becomes counselor centered rather than client centered.

Sixth, pseudotransference may occur when a culturally different client responds defensively to the counselor's unintentional racism, which is then interpreted by the naive counselor as pathology. The client's reactions may be based on accurate and real assessments of the counselor's own unexamined racism. Such defensiveness might be in response to stereotyped attitudes of the counselor, whether positive or negative, toward the client as a product of a particular cultural background.

Seventh, the counselor may misinterpret client nondisclosure. Different cultures teach and encourage different levels of self-disclosure as appropriate. If the client is to benefit from therapy, it may be necessary to disregard culturally learned patterns of nondisclosure to outsiders from

other cultures. However, if the client chooses to self-disclose, this behavior might also be misunderstood as culturally inappropriate.

There are many changes occurring that will increase the urgency of changing culture-bound counselors who are unintentional racists. The increased proportion of minorities in the U.S. population will require much more attention to culturally different perspectives in counseling. Likewise, the Immigration Act of 1990 has dramatically increased the numbers of legal immigrants from foreign countries per year in the United States. The social, political, and economic world order is also changing so that the United States occupies a less powerful, independent position in relation to other countries, internationally.

Finally, the diverse variety of special interest groups who are beginning to define their separate cultural identities will each require special attention. The culture-bound counselor's competence will come under attack not merely for immoral behavior but—in some ways more seriously—for inaccurate assessment of therapeutic problems. The unintentional racist will require special and remedial attention to fit the multicultural reality of the modern world in some ways more seriously resulting from his or her inaccurate assessments. The unintentional racist will require special and remedial attention to fit the multicultural reality of the modern world.

ANTIRACISM STRATEGY IV: CHALLENGE THE RACIST ASSUMPTIONS THAT ENCAPSULATE US

The culturally encapsulated individual is just as able to evade reality through ethnocentrism ("mine is best") as through relativism ("to each his own"). Maintaining a cocoon is accomplished by evading reality and depending entirely on one's own internalized value assumptions about what is good for society. Isolation is accentuated by the inherent capacity of culture-bound and time-honored values to prevail against the tentativeness of present knowledge.

It is therefore necessary for the culture-sensitive individual not only to learn new knowledge and skills but also to reorganize the old knowledge that no longer applies. The encapsulated individual is singularly unable to adapt to a constantly changing sociocultural context. The sociological data with which we inform ourselves can also reinforce tendencies toward stereotyped images of cultural groups, separating and "encapsulating" the individual from social reality.

Encapsulation is a result of several basic and familiar processes in our professional activity (Wrenn, 1985). Wrenn's five-point description of

encapsulation demonstrates how counseling as a profession has protected itself against the complex threat of multiculturalism:

1. We define reality according to one set of cultural assumptions and stereotypes that becomes more important than the real world outside.
2. We become insensitive to cultural variations among individuals and assume that our view is the only real or legitimate one. It is not surprising that the assumption that "I know better than they do what is good for them" is offensive to the target audience.
3. Each of us has unreasoned assumptions we accept without proof. When these assumptions are threatened by another religion, political view, or culture, we can easily become fearful or defensive. When persons of the host culture are perceived as threatening, they quickly become an enemy to be opposed and ultimately defeated in the name of self-preservation.
4. A technique-oriented job definition further contributes toward and perpetuates the process of encapsulation. The world is simplistically divided into a polarity of friends and enemies, us and them, with each relationship being evaluated according to whether it contributes to getting the job done.
5. When there is no evaluation of other viewpoints, individuals may experience encapsulation by absolving themselves of any responsibility to interpret the behavior of others as relevant and meaningful to their own life activity.

Cultural encapsulation becomes most visible in the actions of exclusion. Insiders are separated from outsiders. Certain individuals or groups are judged to be outside the boundaries and the normal rules of fairness no longer apply. Those who are excluded are nonentities, expendable, and undeserving so doing harm to them is acceptable if not perhaps appropriate and justified. Ranging from discrimination to genocide and ethnic cleansing, this thought targets victims who are then blamed for allowing themselves to become victims.

By better understanding the process of moral exclusion we can build a better system of ethical guidelines for the future of counseling. This phenomenon is most evident in two nations at war, but subtle forms of moral exclusion are evident elsewhere as well. Usually, moral exclusion results from severe conflict or from feelings of unconnectedness as relationships are perceived. Opatow (1990) lists the rationalizations and justifications that support moral exclusion, which help to identify otherwise hidden examples of moral exclusion. Other examples of moral exclusion might include psychological distancing, displacing responsibility, group loyalty,

and normalizing or glorifying violence. The list of examples is provided to demonstrate that moral exclusion can be so ordinary an occurrence that it fails to attract attention.

Ponterotto et al. (in press) provide the best recent discussion of antiracist strategies in their book on preventing prejudice. This systematic review of the field addresses varieties of overt (intentional) and covert (unintentional) racism in both individual and institutional racism. Specific examples of encapsulation by racist assumptions for the fields of education and counseling provide a clear picture of how pervasively racist assumptions have encapsulated these fields of professional activity. Ponterotto et al. (in press) provide an extensive guide for educational materials on prejudice prevention awareness that suggests relevant resources for teaching antiracism strategies. Pedersen (2004) also provides 110 examples of guided experiences that can be used to develop antiracist strategies.

ANTIRACISM STRATEGY V: IDENTIFY RACIST BEHAVIORS IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXTS WHERE THEY WERE LEARNED AND DISPLAYED

Ridley (2005) emphasizes the importance of understanding racist behaviors in their cultural context. The most important thing to say about racism is that it is behavior—what a person actually does. Any definition that excludes this basic premise is incomplete. The development of an antiracist strategy requires us to clarify how culture controls a person's behavior with or without our permission. Racist and antiracist behaviors are shaped by both the contemporary and the historical context in which they are displayed or learned. Imagine that several hundred "culture teachers" are sitting on your lap discussing the decisions you are making. These culture teachers include family, friends, fantasies, mentors, and any others who have made a significant impact on your life. These culture teachers shape your decisions and behaviors from within. Pedersen (2000) demonstrates how the triad training model describes how to gain access to the positive and negative "voices" in a person's internal dialogue to become better acquainted with his or her culture teachers. Some of these culture teachers have taught us our prejudices and provide the basis of our own racist or antiracist behaviors. To understand how these culture teachers control your own behavior or the behavior of others ask yourself three questions. What specific behaviors are you trying to understand? What positive or "valued" outcome did the person expect to happen as a result of displaying that behavior? Who were the culture

teachers that taught the person to display that particular behavior at that particular time to get that positive expectation?

Cultural teachers might come from family relationships, such as relatives, or from business associates, fellow countrypersons, ancestors, or those with shared beliefs. Power relationships based on social friendships, sponsors and mentors, subordinates, and supervisors or superiors may provide cultural teachers. Memberships shared with coworkers or in organizations, gender or age groups, and workplace colleagues may contribute cultural teachers. A wide range of nonfamily relationships, friendships, classmates, neighbors, or just people like you may also have contributed as teachers. For example, you are now reading this chapter on antiracist strategy so let's look at that behavior. What positive or valued outcome do you expect to happen as a result of reading this chapter? Make a list. Which culture teachers taught you to read this kind of chapter to get those kinds of results? Practice using these three questions to establish the cultural context of other racist or antiracist behaviors by yourself and/or by others.

Applying a cultural grid to explain interpersonal conflict may be helpful in understanding antiracist strategies in practice. A separate *Interpersonal Cultural Grid* is illustrated in Figure 14.1 and describes how to implement antiracist activities by analyzing the relationship between two people or groups and by separating expectations from behaviors. The Cultural Grid includes four quadrants. Each quadrant explains parts of a conflict between two individuals or groups, recognizing that the salience of each quadrant may change over time and across conflict situations such as those in which racism occurs.

What Was Done?		
Why It Was Done	Perceived Positive/ Congruent Action	Perceived Negative/ Incongruent Action
Perceived Positive/ Congruent Intentions	Quadrant 1	Quadrant 2
Perceived Negative/ Incongruent Intentions	Quadrant 3	Quadrant 4

Figure 14.1
Between-Persons Cultural Grid

In the first quadrant, two individuals have similar behaviors and similar positive and congruent expectations. The relationship is harmonious and there are positive shared expectations behind the behavior. Both persons are smiling (behavior) and both persons expect friendship (expectation). There is little conflict in this quadrant.

In the second quadrant, two individuals or groups have different or incongruent behaviors but share the same positive and congruent expectations. There is a high level of agreement in that both persons expect trust and friendliness. However, each person or group is likely to incorrectly interpret the other's behavior as different and potentially hostile, when that behavior is interpreted out of context. This quadrant is characteristic of cultural conflict in which each person or group is applying a self-reference criterion to interpret the other person or group's behavior, which is likely to result in racist behaviors by one or both parties. The conditions described in the second quadrant are very unstable and, unless the shared positive and congruent expectations are quickly found and made explicit, the salience is likely to change toward the third quadrant and is likely to include covert racist behaviors. The more powerful person or group will force the other to display seemingly congruent behaviors causing the less powerful person or group to pretend congruence while actually becoming less congruent. It is therefore important in cross-cultural conflict for at least one of the two persons to discover and identify the presence of shared positive expectations for trust, respect, and fairness thereby maintaining the conflict in the second quadrant, which may be expressed through quite different and seemingly incongruent behaviors.

In the third quadrant, the two persons have the same apparently congruent behaviors but now they have different incongruent or negative expectations. The similar behaviors give the appearance of harmony and agreement through displaying the congruent or desired behaviors, but the hidden different or negative expectations will ultimately destroy the relationship. Although both persons are now in disagreement, this may not be obvious or apparent to others. One person may continue to expect trust and friendliness while the other person is now negatively distrustful and unfriendly, even though they are both presenting the same smiling and glad-handing behaviors. The stronger person or group is now displaying intentional or unintentional racist behaviors. If these two people can be guided to remember an earlier time when they shared positive and congruent expectations, they might be able to return to the second quadrant and reverse the escalating racist conflict between them. If the difference in expectations is ignored or undiscovered, the conflict will ultimately move to the fourth quadrant.

The fourth quadrant is where two people have different and/or negative expectations and they stop pretending to be congruent. The two persons are at war with one another and may not want to increase the harmony in their relationship any longer. They may just want to hurt one another. Both persons are in disagreement, and that disagreement is now obvious and apparent. This relationship is likely to result in hostile disengagement and racist behaviors by one or both persons and groups. It is very difficult to retrieve conflict from the fourth quadrant because one or both parties have stopped trying to find shared positive expectations. Unfortunately, most racist behaviors by individuals and/or groups remain undiscovered until reaching the fourth quadrant. An appropriate antiracist prevention strategy would be to identify the conflict in behaviors—as indicated in quadrant two—early in the process when those differences in behaviors might be positive (as long as there is a context of shared positive expectations), allowing both parties to build on the common ground they share without forcing either party to lose integrity or display racist behaviors.

Therefore, two people may both share the positive expectation of *trust* but one may be loud and the other quiet; they may share *respect* but one may be open and the other closed; they can both believe in *fairness* but one may be direct and the other indirect; they may value *efficiency* but one may be formal and the other informal; they can seek *effectiveness* but one may be close and the other distant; or they may want *safety* but one may be task oriented and the other relationship oriented. Only when each behavior is assessed and understood in its own context does that behavior become meaningful in an antiracist strategy. Only when positive shared expectations can be identified will two individuals or groups be able to find common ground without sacrificing cultural integrity or by making use of racist force against one another.

The primary antiracist strategy is to understand each behavior in its cultural context. Each cultural context is complicated and dynamic, influenced by many cultural teachers from the individual's cultural context, who take turns being salient according to the time and place. An awareness of one's cultural identity requires being able to recognize how each racist or antiracist behavior is the expression of specific expectations, how each expectation developed from specific values, and how each value was learned from one or more cultural teachers in the cultural context.

Non-Western cultures have typically valued context (high-context) more than Western cultures (low context). Until recently the influence of cultural similarities and differences has been typically overlooked in the published literature about racism, applying a dominant-culture, White, middle-class, urban, male, European American model to the management

of racism across cultures and countries. With the increased influence of non-Western cultures and countries, a variety of different styles of antiracist strategies have become more visible.

It is necessary for leaders and organizations to understand how racism is understood and managed in non-Western cultures. This is important not only because individuals from those countries are increasingly employed in organizations in the United States and other Western cultures but also because Western cultures can learn a great deal from non-Western cultures about constructive conflict management.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified five antiracist dimensions for achieving accurate awareness, meaningful knowledge, and appropriate intervention skills. There are many additional dimensions to consider besides these brief samples. However, beginning with a historical understanding of racism provides a meaningful foundation. Recognizing the importance of the “power balance” in racism provides a sense of realism. Accepting the notion of unintentional racism provides an open door to reconciliation. Defining the boundaries of racism in cultural encapsulation suggests skill-based strategies to protect ourselves from ourselves. Finally, recognizing that all behaviors are learned and displayed in a cultural context provides a “cultural grid” to sort out racist behaviors from the culturally learned expectations on which those behaviors are based.

The task of developing and applying antiracist strategies is profoundly difficult and should not be underestimated. The reduction or elimination of racism is a difficult and perhaps impossible task but that should not prevent our continued work and aspiration toward developing antiracist strategies.

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CHAPTER 15

In Liberty and Justice for All

A Comprehensive Approach to Ameliorating the Complex Problems of White Racism and White Superiority in the United States

MICHAEL D'ANDREA

THE MULTICULTURAL-SOCIAL justice counseling movement is increasingly taking center stage in the mental health professions. The impact of this movement is profoundly affecting the issues mental health professionals are trained to address in their work. It is also reshaping and expanding the way many practitioners think about their professional roles as they search for new and more effective ways to foster the mental health of larger numbers of persons from diverse cultural and racial groups in the United States.

One of the central issues that fueled the genesis of the multicultural-social justice movement is the attention that the pioneers of this theoretical force directed to the complex forms of White racism and their adverse impact on the mental health and spiritual well-being of millions of persons in our society. The efforts of these early pioneers have greatly aided many multicultural counseling advocates who currently work in the field to become more knowledgeable of the many ways in which this complex psycho-social-spiritual-political pathology continues to be manifested in our society. These early efforts continue to spur growing interest in the roles that mental health professionals can play in helping to eradicate this problem and its negative psychological and spiritual impact in our contemporary society.

Although much has been written about the problem of White racism and its adverse impact on People of Color in the United States over the past 35 years, less time and energy has been directed to outlining comprehensive approaches that have been tested and found to be effective in helping to eradicate various dimensions of this complex problem. Unfortunately, there are even fewer publications in the professional mental health literature that have focused on the practical interventions that these professionals can use effectively to address this problem by implementing comprehensive and multifaceted multicultural and social justice counseling strategies in their work.

With this backdrop in mind, this chapter is designed to serve two purposes: First, it attempts to underscore the reader's understanding of the complex problems of White racism from a multicultural-social justice counseling perspective. Second, it describes a comprehensive intervention model that mental health professionals can use to help ameliorate the complex and pervasive ways in which White racism and White superiority continue to be manifested in our contemporary society. In presenting this comprehensive, multifaceted intervention framework, specific attention is directed to the new roles mental health practitioners are increasingly being urged to play in fostering a greater level of psychological well-being among larger numbers of persons in groups that have been, and continue to be, marginalized and devalued as a result of their cultural-racial identity and background.

WHY DIRECT ATTENTION TO THE ISSUE OF WHITE RACISM?

You may ask why I specifically focus on issues related to White racism in this chapter instead of dealing with this complex problem from a more generic perspective. This question frequently arises in many of the professional presentations I do around the country as well as from students who enroll in the multicultural counseling courses that I teach. There are several reasons why I intentionally focus on the problems of White racism and White superiority.

First, it is generally agreed that racism can be manifested in the behaviors of persons from diverse cultural-racial groups in our society. However, my interest in studying White racism is partly predicated on my understanding of two key factors that fuel much of the racism that is manifested in our nation at the present time. The first factor includes the recognition that an essential element of racism involves the power that individuals have to impose negative racial thoughts, attitudes, prejudices, and feelings toward persons in racially different groups.

The second factor relates to the fact that White persons are disproportionately represented in positions of power and influence in our country (Scheurich, 1993; Scheurich & Young, 1997; West, 1999). My understanding of the important role that societal power plays in the perpetuation of racism and the disproportionate number of White persons who hold various positions of power and influence in the United States are two important factors that have motivated me to spend much of the past 25 years studying the psychology of White racism and identifying the types of intervention strategies that mental health professionals can use to ameliorate this complex problem in their work (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999, 2001).

Although I am familiar with research findings that describe the negative impact of White racism on the lives of persons of color, I also have become knowledgeable about the ways in which this unnatural state of psycho-social-spiritual-political disorder profoundly undermines the mental health and well-being of millions of White persons in this country as well. This understanding has been largely realized by reading the works of numerous experts in the field who describe the adverse outcomes that White persons experience when they unwittingly help to sustain a societal status quo that continues to maintain racialized arrangements in the structural hierarchy of the United States to the detriment of millions of persons of color while privileging many individuals in the dominant cultural-racial group (Thompson & Neville, 1999; West, 1999). The negative outcomes that many White persons experience as a result of intentionally and unintentionally perpetuating various forms of White racism and White superiority, by consciously and unconsciously helping to sustain these racialized arrangements, represents another important factor that fuels my commitment to address these complex and complementary problems.

Beyond the adverse psychological and spiritual affects that White racism has on millions of people in our society, it also compromises the fundamental social justice principles on which the United States is founded. Among the principles that suffer when White racism and White superiority are allowed to be perpetuated is the endeared belief that all persons in the United States are entitled to the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Another fundamental principle that is undermined by the maintenance of various forms of White racism and White superiority in the institutions and organizations that comprise our nation's infrastructure involves the profound civic duty we have to promote liberty and justice for all. Thus, my motivation to direct time and energy to ameliorating the problem of White racism is

also stimulated by my loyalty as a citizen of this nation and, more specifically, as someone who is committed to helping this country realize its full potential by helping to guarantee that these rights are afforded to all persons in this country regardless of their cultural-racial identity and background. As a White male, I feel personally, professionally, and morally compelled to increase my own knowledge of White racism and White superiority and to share this understanding with other White colleagues, students, and friends who may be interested in joining with other multicultural-social justice counseling advocates in helping to ameliorate this complex problem through our professional endeavors.

All of these factors have led to: (a) a strong commitment to study these complex problems for more than 20 years, (b) working with other educators and mental health professionals who are also interested in finding new and more effective ways to address this pervasive and unnatural state of psycho-social-spiritual-political disorder in our work, and (c) new insights and knowledge about White racism and White superiority from both a professional and a personal perspective. The insights and knowledge I have gained in these endeavors have resulted in a clearer understanding of three critical theoretical factors that largely contribute to the perpetuation of White racism and White superiority in the United States, including: (1) the myth of the melting pot, (2) the role that epistemological hegemony plays in maintaining many covert and unintentional forms of White racism and White superiority, and (3) the ways in which racialized hierarchical arrangements and the ensuing distribution of societal power and wealth legitimizes and stabilizes various forms of White racism and White superiority in our contemporary society.

MYTH OF THE MELTING POT

Many persons in the dominant cultural-racial group in the United States use the image of the melting pot to describe the ways in which persons from diverse cultural-racial-ethnic groups are believed to be incorporated into our society. This image advances the false idea that the different worldviews, languages, attitudes, and behavioral styles that mark the psychological development and collective identity of people from diverse groups and backgrounds are genuinely respected and effectively integrated into the mainstream of our society. By creating this mythical image, it is believed that the mainstream culture of our nation is constantly being enriched and altered by the ongoing inclusion of the unique beliefs, values, and attitudes of persons from different backgrounds into our societal institutions (Zinn, 2003).

Commenting on the myth of the melting pot image, West (1999) points to the many ways in which diverse cultural-racial values and constructions of the world have rarely been respected or integrated into the mainstream of our nation. Instead, myopic views about the world, mental health, psychological maturity, and personal success continue to be narrowly defined from a White, Western European, male perspective (Scheurich, 1993; Scheurich & Young, 1997). This results in the development and maintenance of what is referred to as epistemological hegemony.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL HEGEMONY, WHITE RACISM,
AND WHITE SUPERIORITY

The term *epistemological hegemony* is an essential consideration in understanding the many ways in which White racism and White superiority continue to be manifested in the United States in general, and in the mental health professions in particular (D'Andrea, 2003; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001). To facilitate a greater understanding of this key construct, the two elements of this term are briefly defined next.

First, it is useful to know that the word *epistemology* refers to the way people construct knowledge and understanding of the world. *Hegemony* is defined as "the dominant influence of one group over another" (*American Heritage Dictionary*, 2001, p. 456). Thus, in the present discussion, epistemological hegemony refers to the many ways that the dominant cultural-racial group's knowledge, constructions, and interpretations of the world take precedence over and are viewed as being more accurate and legitimate than the epistemologies of other cultural-racial groups in the United States.

Epistemological hegemony is commonly manifested in the United States as persons in the dominant cultural-racial group are consciously and unconsciously socialized to assume that their interpretations of reality represent universal truths that are rarely questioned. However, as numerous multicultural, social justice, and postmodern counseling advocates suggest, all knowledge is socially constructed and contaminated by the cultural biases that characterize the specific social-cultural-historical context and conditioning of which a person is a part (D'Andrea, 2000; Gergen, 1994).

The myth of the melting pot helps to explain how the epistemological hegemony that characterizes our contemporary society continues to exist. It does so by (a) falsely suggesting that the epistemological constructions of persons from different cultural-racial groups are melded into the societal institutions that comprise the infrastructure of our nation while (b) effectively legitimizing culturally and racially biased constructions of reality that emerge from the dominant group as universal truths in many

overt and covert ways in the social, educational, media, political, economic, and religious institutions that comprise the infrastructure of the United States (D'Andrea, 1999; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

RACIALIZED HIERARCHICAL ARRANGEMENTS AND INEQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIETAL POWER

The hierarchical arrangements and social-economic positionality of individuals from diverse cultural-racial groups, operated by the nation's presently existing epistemological hegemony, supports the covert nature of White racism and White superiority (West, 1999). To more fully understand the interconnections of these concepts, it is useful to review the work of Scheurich (1993). In describing the interrelationships that exist between these concepts and how they affect human development, Scheurich (1993) points out that individuals are positioned in society through major sociological categories such as race, class, and gender. Based on the hierarchy determined by intersections of these positions, individuals obtain varying amounts of resources and power. The social positionality, power arrangements, and cultural privileges that Scheurich (1993) describes are maintained and reinforced in the social-economic-educational-political institutions of which mental health practitioners and their clients are a part.

Mental health professionals help perpetuate the social positionality, cultural privileges, and power arrangements that Scheurich (1993) describes by:

- Using traditional counseling and psychotherapeutic interventions to help clients learn how to act more "appropriately" so that they can live more "effective" lives by conforming to a status quo that is established by the dominant cultural-racial group in society.
- Resisting facing the important challenge of directing equal time and energy to promoting ecological-environmental changes that reflect greater respect, understanding, and honor for the cultural diversity, psychological development, spiritual well-being, and collective liberation of persons from marginalized groups in our nation.

For the purposes of the present discussion, it is important to stress that mental health practitioners help to perpetuate the social positionality, cultural privileges, and power arrangements that continue to exist in our nation, and that they effectively assist in maintaining covert forms of White racism and White superiority that sustain these societal arrangements in the process (Jones, 1997; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Mental health professionals can do a number of things to avoid becoming accomplices in perpetuating these dynamics. Some of the ways that they can do this include, but are not limited to:

- Becoming knowledgeable of the different types of sociopolitical influences that adversely impact the lives of millions of persons from marginalized and devalued groups in our society.
- Acquiring the skills that are necessary to effectively eradicate the disempowering practices that are manifested in the ecological-environmental contexts of which culturally and racially different clients are a part (e.g., in their families, educational, work, and community settings; Lewis, Lewis, Daniels, & D'Andrea, 2003).

Ultimately, this will require mental health professionals to become actively engaged in reshaping the culture of the mental health profession, enabling it to move beyond the ethnocentric biases and practices that have dominated the profession during the twentieth century. This could occur by balancing individual-intrapsychic helping strategies with efforts to promote ecological-environmental changes that have a positive and longer lasting impact on the mental health and psychological well-being of larger numbers of persons from culturally diverse client populations (Parham, White, & Ajamu, 1999).

The preceding discussion is aimed at expanding your understanding of the some of the psychological and sociological factors that presently contribute to the perpetuation of the complex problems of White racism and White superiority in our nation. In an effort to build on this theoretical foundation in ways that extend your thinking about the practical interventions that can be used to address these problems, the following sections of this chapter describe some of the pragmatic action strategies mental health professionals can use to help ameliorate White racism and White superiority whether they be manifested overtly or covertly, intentionally or unintentionally, in our society in general and in the mental health professions in particular.

Given the complexity of these problems, it is important to think in comprehensive ways about the types of services, competencies, and programs that are necessary to implement an effort to effectively and substantially impact these psycho-social-spiritual-political problems. To provide a comprehensive yet efficient description of the types of interventions that have been tested and found to be effective in addressing many of the aspects of White racism and White superiority that are discussed earlier, I refer to the use of an ecological-environmental helping model that is referred to as the community counseling framework (Lewis et al., 2003).

THE COMMUNITY COUNSELING MODEL: A COMPREHENSIVE-ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND MENTAL HEALTH CARE

The community counseling model (CCM) represents a comprehensive-ecological approach to fostering human development and the mental health of larger numbers of persons from culturally and racially diverse groups than mental health professionals have been able to assist in the past. This comprehensive helping model has been tested and found to be effective in a broad range of human service and educational settings. Researchers have noted the effectiveness of this ecological helping approach in, for example, mental health agencies, career development agencies, elementary and secondary school settings, colleges and universities, and in business and industry (Lewis et al., 2003).

Among the fundamental assumptions that underlie this helping framework include the recognition that:

- Environmental conditions and experiences can have positive and negative affects on human development.
- Promoting individual and systemic changes that foster people's empowerment is essential to their mental health.
- Multifaceted helping approaches are more effective and longer lasting than the single counseling and therapeutic approaches that mental health professionals have traditionally been trained to use in their work.
- Preventive interventions are as important to stimulating mental health as are remedial counseling interventions.
- Multicultural competencies are essential for effective, respectful, and ethical professional practices in our culturally diverse world.
- The promotion of social justice and the eradication of injustices, cultural oppression, White racism, and White superiority are consistent with the principles of human development, mental health, and personal/collective empowerment that are outlined by numerous multicultural-social justice counseling theorists and researchers.

The community counseling approach to mental health care invites practitioners to move beyond the use of individual counseling strategies as a primary way of fostering the psychological well-being of relatively small numbers of culturally and racially diverse clients already in distress by incorporating new professional roles and services in their work. The broad range of helping roles and strategies that are emphasized in this comprehensive ecological counseling and development framework include, but are not limited to, the use of preventive education and life-skills training services, consultation, client advocacy, organizational

development efforts, and system/social change intervention strategies. The professional roles and services that make up the CCM are intentionally aimed at stimulating the health and empowerment of much larger numbers of persons who are subjected to environmental conditions and experiences that undermine their individual and collective well-being. These professional roles and services are classified into four components.

Before discussing the ways in which this model is used to eradicate various forms of White racism and White superiority in our society, it may be helpful to briefly describe the four components that comprise the CCM: (1) direct client, (2) direct community, (3) indirect client, and (4) indirect community interventions.

DIRECT CLIENT INTERVENTIONS

People facing difficult and stressful situations need to develop new and practical problem-solving approaches in everyday life. Stressful life situations can trigger a variety of physical, psychological, spiritual, and social dysfunctions. Mental health professionals have traditionally been trained to provide direct client counseling services to persons whose lives are negatively impacted by the dysfunctional ways in which they respond to difficult environmental conditions and experiences. Although the use of psychodynamic, cognitive-behavioral, and existential-humanistic approaches to counseling and therapy have proven to be effective when used among many clients, researchers also have noted that the use of these theoretical approaches when implementing direct client counseling services are often less effective when used among persons of color who are adversely impacted by White racism and White superiority (Ivey, D'Andrea, Ivey, & Simek-Morgan, 2002).

DIRECT COMMUNITY INTERVENTIONS

Mental health professionals, who provide direct community services, work to educate and train persons identified as being at risk for various psychological stressors and problems. In these interventions, mental health practitioners share their psychological knowledge and skills in ways that lessen the need for professional helpers to provide remedial counseling and therapeutic services for persons in distress. By participating in the types of preventive education and life-skills training services that are associated with this component of the CCM model, persons from culturally and racially diverse groups have the opportunity to increase their awareness and develop skills that can help them lead more effective, productive, and satisfying lives. Direct community programs and services may run the gamut from values-clarification seminars to assertiveness training, from courses in decision making and life planning to

workshops in multicultural understanding, or from relaxation training for adults to prejudice prevention activities for children and adolescents.

INDIRECT CLIENT INTERVENTIONS

The impact of the broader environment on a person's mental health and psychological development becomes especially clear when practitioners work with individuals and groups who have special needs. This includes millions of White persons and People of Color who are adversely impacted by the various forms of White racism and White superiority that are perpetuated in our nation. To help these persons develop new and healthier ways of thinking, feeling, and acting, mental health professionals are encouraged to become advocates, speaking up on their clients' behalf and actively intervening in their clients' surroundings. Such advocacy begins with identifying groups of people who might benefit from increasing their own individual and collective strength.

In addition to assisting individuals and groups of people to realize new and untapped dimensions of their personal and cultural strength, mental health practitioners work to create environmental conditions that lead to the empowerment of individuals in diverse populations (McWhirter, 1994). To successfully stimulate their clients' empowerment by using indirect client interventions, mental health practitioners commonly rely on the use of consultation and education-training services to key persons in their clients' environment. Some of the specific services and interventions that fall into this component of the CCM include parent and teacher effectiveness training programs, client advocacy services, and consultation with leaders and healers in culturally and racially diverse communities.

INDIRECT COMMUNITY INTERVENTIONS

As mental health practitioners attempt to respond to the needs of all community members, particularly those persons who are unfairly treated because of their cultural-racial identity and background, the need to negotiate environmental changes becomes apparent. As the authors of the CCM state, mental health professionals often come "face to face with victims of poverty, racism, sexism, ageism, ablism, heterosexism, and stigmatization by political, economic, and social systems that leave individuals feeling powerless; of governing bodies that deny their responsibility to respond to people's needs; and of social norms that encourage isolation" (Lewis et al., 2003, p. 33).

In the face of these realities, practitioners have no choice but to promote positive changes in those systems that directly impact the psychological

well-being of their clients or blame the victims of oppressive and toxic environmental situations. Given the impact of the environment on the well-being of clients' lives, the CCM calls on mental health practitioners to work with educational, corporate-industrial, social, political, and professional organizations and systems. This requires mental health professionals to serve as their clients' advocates by consulting with key persons in these environmental systems as well as developing and implementing organizational development, community action, and social change initiatives that are aimed at stimulating our clients' mental health and spiritual well-being.

USING THE COMMUNITY COUNSELING MODEL TO ADDRESS THE COMPLEX PROBLEM OF WHITE RACISM

The CCM has been used by numerous multicultural and social justice advocates who are committed to addressing the complex problems of White racism and White superiority as they are manifested in our society in general and in the mental health professions in particular. What follows is a brief description of the ways in which the CCM has been used to promote the empowerment, mental health, and spiritual well-being of White persons as well as Persons of Color who are at risk of being adversely impacted by the various forms of White racism and White superiority that continue to be perpetuated in our nation.

DIRECT CLIENT INTERVENTIONS

One of the obvious ways that White racism and White superiority is manifested in these kinds of counseling dyads involves the use of therapeutic theories and approaches that have been largely developed by White male theorists and primarily validated among White clients typically from middle-class backgrounds (Sue, Ivey, & Pedersen, 1996). The power to use such theories in cross-racial counseling settings (even if the assumptions, values, and biases that underlie these helping theories conflict with the worldview of clients from different racial backgrounds) represents a common way in which White racism and White superiority continue to be manifested in these helping encounters (Parham et al., 1999).

Another way that White racism and White superiority emerges in cross-racial counseling and therapy settings relates to the overuse of traditional theoretical models that emphasize the need for clients to make intrapsychic and behavioral changes. Multicultural counseling advocates

have repeatedly pointed out that an overemphasis on individual-intrapsychic changes in individual therapy situations lead clients to primarily focus on the adjustments they need to make to lead more satisfying and productive lives. When this occurs in cross-racial counseling settings, therapists are thought to be guilty of acting as "handmaidens of the status quo" (Halleck, 1971; Sue et al., 1996) by encouraging clients of color to primarily focus on the personal changes they can make without effectively addressing the adverse affect that various forms of White racism and White superiority may be having on the lives of these persons (Utsey, Bolden, & Brown, 2001).

A third way in which White counselors help to perpetuate the problem of White racism in cross-racial counseling settings is simply by not addressing the racial differences that obviously exist between the therapist and client in these situations. In light of the historic suspicions that many persons of color carry into cross-racial counseling situations, multicultural counseling competency advocates emphasize the importance of discussing these racial differences early in the helping encounter (Mio & Iwamasa, 2003).

These and other advocates of the multicultural counseling competency movement have outlined a number of concrete strategies that practitioners are encouraged to use in ameliorating the negative affect that may potentially ensue in many cross-racial therapeutic situations. One of the ways to do this when providing direct client counseling services with individuals who come from a different racial background than the counselor involves taking time to negotiate what the goals of counseling will be with the client (Daniels et al., 2005) and go beyond simply discussing issues related to confidentiality and informed consent by describing the different roles and expectations of the therapist and the client in the helping process (Constantine, Kindaichi, Arorash, Donnelly, & Jung, 2002).

Several other multicultural counseling competency advocates have described a practical strategy to use in initial cross-racial counseling sessions that are comprised of White practitioners and clients of color in an effort to avoid the manifestation of unintentional White racism and White superiority by overusing an intrapsychic approach to therapy (Cartwright, D'Andrea, & Daniels, 2004). To effectively avoid the possibility of unintentionally perpetuating these problems in cross-racial counseling situations, practitioners are urged to let the client know of three possible strategies they can use in their sessions. The first strategy involves helping the client to learn new ways of dealing with the thoughts, feelings, and/or behaviors that the client believes are contributing to her or his problem. A second strategy involves exploring what the client and counselor could do to help change those external-environment

factors that may be negatively impacting the client's life. The third option involves incorporating a combination of the first two options by acknowledging that time could be set aside in each counseling session to explore both internal and external factors that are negatively impacting the client's life.

Many multicultural counseling competency advocates have repeatedly invited White practitioners to take time to discuss the possible impact of differences in racial backgrounds when working with clients of color in cross-racial helping situations (Daniels et al., 2005; Parham et al., 1999). In using this strategy in the initial counseling session, practitioners are encouraged to: (a) talk about the apparent racial differences that exist between their clients and themselves in cross-racial helping settings, (b) indicate their awareness of the ways in which the problem of racism continues to be manifested in our society, (c) acknowledge their sensitivity to issues of historical mistrust and suspicions that commonly exist between Persons of Color and White individuals; and (d) ask how the difference between their own and the client's racial background may affect the helping process from the perspective of the Persons of Color who are involved in counseling and therapy (Cartwright et al., 2004).

DIRECT COMMUNITY INTERVENTIONS

Although the direct client counseling strategies described earlier have proven to be effective in addressing the difficult topics of White racism and White superiority in cross-racial counseling situations, the largest number of Persons of Color who need mental health-care services do not participate in these traditional individual therapeutic services (Lewis et al., 2003; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). The U.S. Surgeon General's Report (2001) describing the state of this country's mental health-care system identified numerous factors that contribute to the significantly lower accessibility rates among Persons of Color. Two of the most important variables that were identified as contributing factors in this regard include: (1) the ongoing problem of distrust that many Persons of Color continue to harbor toward White professionals and (2) the fear of being stigmatized as a result of participating in counseling and therapy.

Recognizing the importance of finding new, creative, and more effective ways of providing mental health-care services that effectively address the psychological needs of persons in diverse cultural-racial groups in our society, the authors of the CCM emphasize the need to expand the availability and use of direct community services. These services include the utility of preventive counseling and life-skills training programs that

are intentionally aimed at fostering healthy human development among persons from a broad range of ages and backgrounds.

The use of direct community services such as those described earlier have been found to be a particularly useful way of helping White individuals and Persons of Color to openly talk about issues related to White racism and White superiority in culturally and racially diverse group settings. Culturally competent mental health practitioners can use this component of the CCM to assist persons of different ages and backgrounds in developing new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that are helpful in ameliorating these problems in different environmental settings.

The Multicultural Guidance Project (MGP; D'Andrea & Daniels, 1995) represents the sort of direct community intervention that offers much potential in this regard. Used among groups of culturally and racially diverse elementary school-aged students, the counselors who implemented this direct community intervention directed much attention to the ways in which members of the dominant cultural-racial group in the United States treat Persons of Color. Discussion of this topic was initially met with defensive resistance by some of the White students in the classes where this intervention was offered. However, as researchers noted, the MGP resulted in positive social skill development scores among all of the participating students and a greater level of acceptance, respect, and understanding of the unique strengths that persons from all cultural-racial groups have to offer our society (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1995). Given its recognized potential in preventing racial and cultural prejudices from developing among young children, it is suggested that this direct community intervention offers much promise in ameliorating the problems of White racism and White superiority in other school and community settings as well.

INDIRECT CLIENT INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Researchers have found the use of the direct client and direct community interventions that are described in the preceding sections of this chapter to increase mental health practitioners' ability to effectively address the complex problems of White racism and White superiority in their work. Although the effectiveness of these interventions provide hope regarding the role that practitioners can play in helping to eradicate these forms of psycho-social-spiritual-political pathology from our nation, the fact of the matter is that most persons who would benefit from participating in such interventions will not voluntarily work with counselors or psychologists in direct client or direct community service settings. Recognizing the importance of dealing with this reality, proponents of the CCM describe the

positive ways that indirect services ameliorate White racism and White superiority in the United States.

An increasing number of counselor education and professional psychology training programs have incorporated multicultural counseling courses as a part of their core curriculum. Some of these courses direct particular attention to the problems of White racism and White superiority as they are manifested in our society in general and the mental health professions in particular (Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). While the fields of counseling and psychology have made some progress in preparing the future generation of mental health practitioners to more effectively deal with these problems, there needs to be a tremendous increase in the level of commitment among faculty members to address these complex problems by helping graduate students acquire the knowledge and skills that will enable them to effectively implement the types of indirect client services that were briefly outlined earlier. This is particularly important given: (a) the rapid cultural-racial transformation of the U.S. citizenry, (b) the level of racial tensions that continue to exist in our contemporary society, and (c) our increasing understanding of the adverse impact that White racism and White superiority continue to have on millions of persons of color as well as White people in this nation.

INDIRECT COMMUNITY INTERVENTIONS

One of the keys in substantially reducing the various forms of White racism and White superiority that continue to be manifested in the United States relates to our willingness and ability as peace- and justice-loving citizens to promote the organizational and institutional changes that are necessary to transform the way persons from diverse cultural-racial groups are treated in this country. Many persons in the general citizenry as well as many individuals in the mental health professions are proud of the fact that we live in a desegregated nation; one in which persons from diverse racial groups are able to freely access public accommodations, public transportation systems, many of our public schools, and have the right to vote without fearing retribution. However, as Parham (2001) points out, there is a profound difference between a desegregated society and a fully integrated society.

In general terms, a desegregated society provides mechanisms where individuals from different cultural-racial backgrounds are able to share the same physical space in society. A more specific description of a desegregated society includes the notion that all citizens are guaranteed the right to access publicly funded services and institutions without fearing retribution regardless of their cultural-racial identity and background (Parham, 2001).

In contrast, a fully integrated society respects, embraces, and incorporates the worldviews, values, traditions, and preferred interpersonal behavioral styles of persons from diverse cultural-racial groups into the mainstream of our society. This includes, but is not limited to, infusing the different epistemologies that characterize the way persons from diverse groups construct meaning of the world in our educational, economic, political, social, media, athletic, and religious institutions and organizations.

Realizing Dr. Martin Luther King's dream of building a fully integrated society will necessitate revolutionary changes in all of the institutions and organizations that comprise the infrastructure of our society. For mental health professionals, this will necessitate a dismantling of the vestiges of epistemological hegemony that were described earlier in this chapter and continue to be manifested in our professional training programs, research methods, and clinical practices. From a practical point of view, this will necessitate the development and implementation of new helping paradigms that incorporate the unique constructions about mental health and spiritual well-being that mark the thinking of persons from different cultural and racial groups in our national mental health-care system (Lewis et al., 2003; Sue et al., 1996). It will require radically new approaches in the way our professional training programs educate the next generation of mental health professionals (Utsey et al., 2005). To achieve these ends, it will be necessary to implement the kinds of multicultural organizational development and advocacy initiatives that are intentionally aimed at revolutionizing the mental health-care system from top to bottom in the United States (D'Andrea et al., 2001).

The most urgent challenge we face in this regard is to move beyond a vision of new approaches to mental health care to implementing practical intervention strategies that are effective in ameliorating the various forms of White racism and White superiority that continue to exist in the fields of counseling and psychology. The types of services and programs that comprise the indirect community counseling component of the CCM offer much promise in building a revolutionary movement in the mental health professions; a movement that is deliberately aimed at transforming the fields of counseling and psychology by eradicating the many covert and unintentional forms of White racism and White superiority that continue to be embedded in many of our helping theories, research methods, clinical practices, and professional organizations.

A professional multicultural and social justice advocacy group that is comprised of many well-respected leaders in the American Psychological Association (APA) and the American Counseling Association (ACA) developed an organization that is referred to as the National Institute for

Multicultural Competence (NIMC) in 1992. Since that time, the NIMC has utilized many advocacy, consultation, organizational development, and institutional change services that make up the indirect community component of the CCM. In an ongoing effort to foster the kinds of revolutionary changes that are necessary to promote substantial and lasting effects in ameliorating the complex problems of White racism and White superiority in the mental health professions, members of the NIMC have been engaged in numerous multicultural organizational development and advocacy endeavors over the past 12 years. This includes joining with other allies in successfully lobbying for the formal endorsement of 31 multicultural counseling competencies in the American Counseling Association (Daniels & D'Andrea, 2003) and a set of multicultural guidelines for the education, training, and practice of psychologists in the American Psychological Association (APA, 2003). It also involves sponsoring an ongoing national tour entitled, "Promoting Multicultural Competence and Social Justice."

In an effort to promote the kinds of revolutionary changes that are described earlier in the mental health professions, the NIMC's national tour provides a broad range of professional training and multicultural organizational development and advocacy services for students, faculty members, and administrators in several universities where the tour has convened, as well as for members in the general communities where these indirect community service projects have been held. At each location, much time and energy is directed to helping the participants develop a more expansive understanding of the complex ways that the problems of White racism and White superiority continue to be manifested in our nation's educational and health-care systems as well as outlining practical strategies they can use to ameliorate this problem at the universities and communities where they are situated.

The effectiveness of this unique indirect community service initiative has recently been reported by several researchers who have empirically tested the efficacy of the NIMC's national tour at four different universities (Zalaquett, D'Andrea, Foley, & Dinsmore, 2005). According to these investigators, the services that were provided by the NIMC's national tour resulted in significant and lasting improvements in the commitment for multicultural competence and social justice principles at the individual and institutional levels of the universities where the tour was held. These commitments included an expressed willingness among students, faculty members, administrators, and other key policymakers to promote the principles of the multicultural counseling competency movement by working to eradicate the various forms of White racism and White superiority that continue to be unintentionally manifested in the counseling

practices, training programs, and organizational cultures at the various locations where this indirect community project was held.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that this chapter has helped you gain a better understanding of why the complex problems of White racism and White superiority need to be more effectively addressed by mental health professionals as well as assist you in developing new ways of thinking about the specific strategies that can be employed to successfully eradicate these problems. Mental health professionals are better able to effectively deal with these complex problems when they: (a) increase their understanding of these pervasive and unnatural forms of psycho-social-spiritual-political disorder, and (b) learn new ways to pragmatically ameliorate these problems in their work. In doing so, we will all be better able to help realize this nation's untapped potential in enabling all of our citizens to experience the psychological, social, spiritual, and economic benefits that can be derived from fostering a true sense of liberty and justice for all the people of this land.

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CHAPTER 16

The Pursuit of Social Justice and the Elimination of Racism

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IN THIS CHAPTER, the elimination of racism in the pursuit of social justice is discussed. First, social justice is defined and the argument that racism is a form of social injustice is presented. The mental health and educational costs of racism on People of Color are reviewed next. Then, addressing racism in mental health and educational professionals and the prevention of racist beliefs and attitudes are presented as strategies to eliminate racism.

DEFINING SOCIAL JUSTICE

Discussions of social justice are found in a wide variety of literatures including psychology, education, theology, and political science. As stated in Vera and Speight (2003), the goal of social justice is “full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure” (Bell, 1997, p. 3). Although this is only one of a variety of definitions of social justice, the majority of definitions emphasize the equitable distribution of resources and allocation of power.

One particular paradigm of social justice embraced by several contemporary scholars is referred to as a communitarian model of justice or deliberative justice (Heller, 1987; Young, 1990). In this model of social justice, the process of decision making and interaction that occurs at both an individual and systemic level is evaluated to identify practices of

domination, privilege, and oppression. In this model, the equal distribution of resources cannot be mandated by laws or policies. Rather, the processes that resulted in unequal outcomes to begin with must be scrutinized and transformed (Vera & Speight, 2003). Typically, the process of marginalization is the main vehicle by which social injustice is maintained. Young (1990) argues that in the United States, a large proportion of the population is expelled from full participation in social life including People of Color, the elderly, the disabled, women, gay men, lesbians, bisexual people, and people who are involuntarily out of work. For People of Color, the marginalization and discrimination that has negative effects on mental health and educational opportunities is racism. However, because people simultaneously possess multiple group memberships, it is likely that People of Color experience other forms of oppression in addition to racism, such as classism, sexism, and ageism (Speight, Myers, Cox, & Highlen, 1991).

The costs of racism to People of Color are enormous, even when one disaggregates the costs of additional forms of oppression they may encounter. These costs include increased risks for physical and mental health problems, reduced access to educational and vocational achievement, and increased risk of early death, among other costs. Although some scholars have convincingly argued that racism has costs for White individuals as well (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999; Kiselica, 1999), the scope of this discussion is on racism experienced by People of Color. In the following sections, the impact of racism on mental health and educational outcomes for People of Color is briefly reviewed.

RACISM AND MENTAL HEALTH

A number of exemplary articles have articulated the strong relationship between racism and mental health (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; R. Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Jackson et al., 1996; Kessler, Michelson, & Williams, 1999; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Thompson & Neville, 1999; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). The chronic stress of racism comes in a variety of forms, originally discussed by Jones (1981) and later by Thompson & Neville, including individual forms such as "everyday racism" (e.g., being followed in stores or being the target of racial slurs), institutional barriers to financial or educational opportunities, cultural racism (i.e., White supremacy; Takaki, 1993), and environmental racism. Whether racist incidents are microaggressions or major threats to well-being (e.g., hate crimes), the cumulative toll has direct physiological and psychological consequences that put People of Color at risk for a host of mental health problems such as anxiety and depression (R. Clark et al., 1999).

Ridley (2005) argued that in addition to the actual consequences of race-related stress experienced by People of Color, mental health therapists who lack cultural competency are also likely to misdiagnose clients of color or to assign them diagnoses that are disproportionately severe in comparison with their White counterparts. For example, a recent study on mental health disparities found that African Americans were four times more likely and Latinos were three times more likely than Whites to receive a diagnosis of schizophrenia (National Institutes of Health, 2000). There are racial disparities in other diagnostic categories such as asthma, obesity, and substance abuse that demonstrate the extent to which People of Color are overrepresented in particular physical and mental health outcomes (National Institutes of Health, 2000).

Bryant-Davis and Ocampo (2005) make a compelling argument for the conceptualization of racism as a form of psychological trauma building on the work of Carter and Helms (2002) and Wyatt (1990). They compare racist incidents to rape and domestic violence and make parallels between the motivation, survivor responses, consequences for perpetrators, secondary trauma effects, and societal effects of each of these phenomena. They differentiate racism from rape and domestic violence, however, in noting that racism that leaves no physical mark is often difficult to substantiate to others, oneself, and systems of law enforcement or justice (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005). The importance of this argument is in its clinical implications. "Until the existence and impact of racist incident-based trauma are recognized, healing cannot take place" (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005, p. 495). Yet, there are some important issues that impact the extent to which mental health professionals can actively participate in this healing process that are discussed next.

One of the problems critically linked to attending to the aforementioned disparities in mental health problems and those problems that directly result from exposure to racism is that People of Color often do not participate in traditional mental health services (Vera & Speight, 2003). The reasons for such underutilization are complex and include a preference for informal types of help, cultural incongruities in the conceptualization of mental health problems, and the lack of cultural sensitivity on the part of the mental health professionals. However, the Office of the Surgeon General notes the following regarding mental health concerns as they relate to ethnic and racial minorities in the United States:

- Ethnic and racial minorities have less access in general to mental health services (i.e., access based on availability, ability to afford services, or linguistic proficiency).
- Ethnic and racial minorities are less likely to receive needed mental health services even when access exists.

- Ethnic and racial minorities receiving mental health treatment often receive a poorer quality of mental health care than their White counterparts (Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

Thus, it would seem that a serious dilemma exists for mental health providers in relation to serving the needs of People of Color. Exposure to racism may result in an increased prevalence of certain disorders, a lack of cultural competence may impact the extent to which diagnoses are accurate and reliable, and the treatment that is available is being underutilized and is of poorer quality.

Three equally important strategies that would seem to exist in eliminating racial disparities in mental health problems and utilization are: (1) reducing barriers that prevent People of Color from pursuing traditional counseling services, (2) reducing the conditions that result in mental health problems for People of Color, and (3) altering our methods of service delivery so that they might be more accessible to underserved communities. The key to each of these strategies, however, is related to training mental health professionals to be cognizant of and responsive to these needs. These issues are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. First, it is important to examine the educational costs of racism on People of Color.

RACISM AND EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Much attention has been given to the academic achievement of adolescents of color. Despite ongoing efforts to improve the academic performance of these youth, a significant achievement gap exists between the test scores of these students and others (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, 2000b; Sanders, 2000; Valencia & Suzuki, 2000). There is an abundance of evidence revealing that compared to Caucasian students, youth of color earn lower grades (Mickelson, 1990; L. S. Miller, 1996; National Center for Education Statistics, 2000b, 2001; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992), receive lower scores on standardized tests of academic ability (Jencks & Phillips, 1998; Phillips, Crouse, & Ralph, 1998), and tend to have higher grade retention rates (Owings & Magliaro, 1998; Reynolds, 1992). Recent data have shown that over the past 30 years, both African American and Latino students have made significant achievement gains; however, the average scores for these students are still well below those of non-Hispanic, White students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000a, 2000b).

Students of color from low socioeconomic status (SES) families appear to be particularly at risk (Rumberger, 1995; Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, & Fernandez, 1989). Research has shown that these adolescents in

particular exhibit deteriorating interest in academics during the middle school years (Lepper, Sethi, Daldin, & Drake, 1997; Stipek, 1997) and some even drop out before they reach high school (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). This is not surprising considering the additional strain on youth of color and their families that comes with living in impoverished neighborhoods with fewer available resources and higher levels of crime. Additionally, the presence of high rates of unemployment and racial/ethnic discrimination in the community may interfere with the educational development of urban minority youth by reducing career aspirations and expectations and decreasing motivation for school and career success (Constantine, Erikson, Banks, & Timberlake, 1998).

Adolescents' experiences during the middle school years have critical effects on future educational plans and life opportunities (Becker & Luthar, 2002; Elmen, 1991; Kramer, 1991). Rumberger (1987) found that students who drop out of school before graduation experience higher levels of unemployment and receive lower earnings compared to those who graduate. These individuals are also at higher risk for dependency on welfare, interactions with the legal system, and enduring health and emotional difficulties (Rumberger, 1987). The cost to society of high levels of school dropout has been estimated in the billions of dollars from factors like lost earnings, unrealized tax revenue, welfare programs, and criminal justice programs (Baptiste, 1992). However, the impact of the unfulfilled hopes and dreams of the individual, his or her family, and the community are immeasurable.

One explanation for the achievement gap focuses on the barriers that disadvantaged early adolescents of color face in the educational system in the United States. For instance, structural inequalities in attitudes, resources, and quality instruction are just a few of the challenges to equal educational opportunities for disadvantaged students (Becker & Luthar, 2002). Schools that serve a high proportion of poor students are least likely to provide the types of instruction, materials, and qualified teachers required to facilitate the development of students capable of meeting current academic standards (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Furthermore, these students are more likely to experience lowered future expectations, inequitable exposure to learning opportunities, and negative messages about their own academic abilities (Becker & Luthar, 2002).

The research on adolescents' of color environments and academic achievement has continued to develop in recent years. One primary factor that may decrease the achievement motivation of minority youth is the structural and institutionalized racism in the United States. Many adolescents from racial/ethnic minority groups, such as African Americans, Mexican Americans, and American Indians, are aware that they are likely

to encounter educational and job discrimination in the future (Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Furthermore, a combination of a lack of economic and social advantages with experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination leads disadvantaged adolescents to believe that their efforts in school are futile (Lerman, 1996) and that academic pursuits will have relatively little financial payoff (M. L. Clark, 1991; Mickelson, 1990; Midgley, 1993). Although these factors will not be addressed directly in the current discussion, they underscore the importance of considering the multitude of factors influencing early adolescents of color living in low SES environments.

A second influential theory that has received a great deal of attention from the social psychology literature provides a model for understanding the effects of societal pressures and negative stereotypes on the academic achievement of African American students. The two primary constructs that are associated with this theory are *stereotype threat* and *disidentification* (Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat is a situational circumstance that occurs when an individual is aware of a negative stereotype that exists about his or her social group in relation to a particular behavior. The awareness causes the individual to be reluctant about engaging in the behavior for fear of confirming that negative stereotype. This anxiety has been shown to have direct negative effects on African American students' valuing of school, effort to do well on academic tasks, and performance on standardized tests (Steele & Aronson, 1995). If the situational threat becomes chronic, the individual will engage in a process of disidentification, or reconceptualization of the self and of his or her values, so as to protect the self-concept from negative evaluation (Steele, 1997). Although the theory of stereotype threat has a strong focus on the individual (e.g., self-identity), the emphasis is still on the dynamic relationship between the adolescent and his or her environment.

The majority of the efforts that have sought to explain the discrepancy in academic performance between Caucasian and racial/ethnic minority students have originated from a deficit-oriented perspective. Social science research (i.e., psychology, psychiatry, and sociology) has consistently demonstrated a pattern of conceptualizing racial/ethnic minorities in a pathological manner (Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001). Undoubtedly, this is a view that is deeply rooted in the culture of the United States where individuals not part of the majority are often seen as flawed or inferior. Some researchers search for evidence to support a genetic basis for differences in intelligence and achievement (e.g., Lynn, 1997; Rushton, 1995).

Between the impact of personal and institutional racism experienced by People of Color, it seems obvious that education and mental health

professionals must make serious efforts to eliminate racism as a social justice issue. Next, a discussion on how mental health and educational professionals can participate in eliminating racism is presented.

ELIMINATING RACISM AS A MISSION FOR EDUCATION AND MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Few studies have attempted to understand the process of transforming professionals' level of commitment to confronting racism in their work. Two recent studies have examined the extent to which mental health professionals are comfortable being antiracist and discussing racism openly in their work.

Utsey, Gernat, and Hammar (2005) conducted a focus group with White counselor trainees to examine trainee reactions to racially charged situations involving clients and supervisors. Their findings suggest that "in training situations, it is still taboo to have direct discussions about race and racism that penetrate surface-level explorations" (p. 470). Some of the participants in their study suffered from "rhetorical incoherence" (Bonilla-Silva, 2002) when discussing race in that their ability to articulate words and ideas related to race were impaired. Although their participants did demonstrate racial consciousness, they were mostly aware of other people's races as opposed to their own. These findings suggest that helping trainees to develop a basic comfort level with topics of race and racism in professional settings is a necessary precursor to being committed to an antiracism agenda in one's work.

D'Andrea and Daniels (1999) described various dispositions that White mental health professionals possessed regarding their understanding of racism. Most of their research participants were found to possess a "liberal disposition," which was characterized by openness to talking about racism but an overall sense of apathy about it (i.e., an absence of anger, urgency, or expressed concern). A lack of antiracist action was associated with this disposition. In contrast, research participants who had a principled activist disposition (sadly, less than 1% of the sample) demonstrated a more abstract and systematic understanding of cycles of oppression and the various individual, institutional, and cultural changes needed to eradicate racism. These individuals were characterized as social/political activists who consciously worked to empower marginalized populations. Unfortunately, these same individuals reported a general lack of support for their efforts by their colleagues, administrators, and the profession in general. Based on these findings, a great deal of work remains to socialize the next generation of mental

health professionals to ground their work in social justice and fight for the eradication of racism.

One resource that addresses the process of encouraging professionals to embrace a commitment to social justice in their future professional work is a book by Buckley (1998). As discussed by Vera and Speight (2003), Buckley maintained that education infused with social justice and humanitarianism should produce a person who is characterized by three qualities. The first quality is an affective dimension of social justice; the person should be sensitive to injustice and innocent suffering in the world. Typically, an examination of injustice is what yields this sensitivity. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to ensure the transformation process. Many people are aware of injustice and only pity those who suffer as a result. The second quality is an intellectual dimension of justice; the person should know the causes/conditions that result and perpetuate human suffering (i.e., understanding theories of oppression and liberation). This understanding is critical to motivating individuals to engage in work that tries to change these conditions (discussed in further detail by Goodman, 2001). The third quality is the pragmatic or volitional dimension of justice; a person must learn tools and skills that will allow him or her to effectively intervene, and in doing so, contribute to a vision of social justice. This last component is important to address because often mental health and educational professionals who engage in working with underserved communities leave the experience feeling disillusioned, burned out, or overwhelmed by the enormity of problems that exist for their constituents. However, we could argue that this is a result of being trained to rely on individual-level interventions as the primary tool of change. If professionals were taught to think more broadly about their potential roles as professionals, they would be in a better position to intervene at multiple levels for clients and communities.

One way to encourage such a broadening is to offer courses that have a direct focus on alternative roles (e.g., for mental health professionals or courses in outreach and advocacy) or by infusing into existing coursework service-based learning experiences that address injustices. For example, a career development class might provide students with an opportunity to go into community colleges or local high schools and deliver programs aimed at developing career decision-making skills and opportunities in students. A research methods class might allow students to access archival data and then develop papers with clear policy implications that demonstrate interpretation skills and application of information to real problems. Human diversity classes might study theories of oppression but also have students engage in a service-based volunteer experience (e.g., tutoring, working in a homeless shelter) that would allow them to not only participate in grassroots programs but also give them

some experience learning the administrative and political aspects of such programs (Vera & Speight, 2003).

Preparing professionals to combat racism is a critical call to arms for the mental health and education professions. Fortunately, the debate about the need for such a call and strategies to eliminate racism have begun to appear in professional literatures.

SOCIAL ACTION AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVISM

Several prominent scholars have argued that social justice and the elimination of oppression should be a predominant mission for mental health and education professionals (Albee, 2000; Helms & Cook, 1999; Martin-Baró, 1994; Prilleltensky, 1997; Ramirez, 1999; Takaki, 1993). Martin-Baró (1994) argued that liberation-guided mental health and psychology focuses "not on what has been done [to people] but what needs to be done" (p. 6). To adopt this focus requires the acquisition of a "consciousness that will permit us to go beyond the limits imposed by our socialization and the boundaries set by our professional fields" (p. 16). Many other scholars have asserted the need for macrolevel interventions in working with People of Color. Thompson and Neville (1999) argued that the effects of racism on the mental health of People of Color warrant a commitment to large-scale social interventions. D'Andrea and Daniels (1999) and Helms and Cook (1999) have been leaders in calling for a commitment to fight racism and expose White privilege. Parham and McDavis (1987) emphasized the importance of counselors both working to help individuals become empowered to change their behaviors and relationships *and* becoming environmental change agents. Toporek and Reza (2001) argued that advocacy and policy-making roles are critical to multicultural competence. Vera and Speight (2003; Speight & Vera, 2004) echoed these calls and challenged the profession to expand its notion of what multicultural competence entails. Hence, there is growing support for a refocusing of the scope of practice in the mental health and education fields.

In the mental health professions, direct services other than therapy, such as advocacy, outreach, prevention programs, and psychoeducational interventions, would be a priority in multiculturally competent, communitarian social justice-based practice (Vera & Speight, 2003). Prevention and remediation are not mutually exclusive activities for professionals; it is possible to incorporate both approaches to service delivery. Fortunately, several scholars have developed models of multicultural service delivery that are instructive for expanding professional roles in the service of oppressed communities (Atkinson, Thompson, & Grant, 1993; Lewis, Lewis, Daniels, & D'Andrea, 1998). Community outreach, facilitating indigenous support networks, advocacy, and public policy making

could very well be more important ways to contribute to social change and the elimination of racism.

Atkinson et al. (1993) presented an expanded model of mental health practice that would address the underutilization of services by People of Color. In their model, outreach work, facilitation of self-help or indigenous support, and community advocacy are among the alternate ways that mental health professionals can facilitate the healing and recovery of People of Color with mental health problems. Perhaps the strength of this model, however, is that a counselor adjusts his or her role to the needs of the client. If the client is wary of traditional psychotherapy, it should not be imposed. If the indigenous healing network in the community (e.g., priests or healers) is going to be more culturally congruent with a client's worldview, it should be accessed. In essence, eight major roles for counselors exist: (1) advisor, (2) advocate, (3) self-help group facilitator, (4) facilitator of indigenous support and healing systems, (5) consultant, (6) change agent, (7) counselor, and (8) psychotherapist.

Another model that addresses the importance of role flexibility and issues of social justice was articulated by Lewis et al. (1998). They emphasized many of the direct client service roles outlined in Atkinson et al.'s model (e.g., counseling or outreach) and described indirect client service roles such as consulting and working to influence public policy. Lewis et al. identified other roles that are targeted at the community in general rather than at a particular client. These roles would include advocate, psychoeducator, or collaborator with community leaders (e.g., ministers or folk healers). The needs of the client determine which services are utilized and, consequently, which roles would be most beneficial. Several of these roles (i.e., facilitator of indigenous support, consultant, or advocate) require professionals to be familiar with and active in the communities in which their clients reside. What is critical about this model is that the importance of organizational intervention is highlighted. Targeting racist policies and engaging in policy and advocacy work is perhaps one of the most effective ways of bringing about long-term change in systems. Although this may not be a role for which most mental health professionals have received formal training, it is critical that such skills be learned and embraced as tools for eliminating racism.

Although these models of mental health service delivery are excellent examples of how professionals can expand their roles to meet the needs of clients of color, it is apparent from the literature (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999; Utsey et al., 2005) that it takes a special disposition to motivate oneself to engage in such practices. Another aspect of eliminating racism has to do with the need to prevent the development of racist beliefs and attitudes, which will ultimately reduce the number of race-related traumas

People of Color may be forced to confront over the life span. This work is perhaps most optimally targeted at children and implemented by educators. This topic is addressed in the next section.

PREVENTING THE FORMATION OF RACIST BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

The ability to eliminate racism is predicated on the assumption that racism is learned and can be unlearned. Research on the development of racial cognitions reveals the relatively young age at which children's and adolescents' ideas about race are formed and crystallized. Katz (1983) traced the changes in children's reasoning about racial distinctions that occur from birth. Children as young as 6 years not only gain a sense of themselves as racial beings but also incorporate ideas about various social groups and prescribed interactions among them. By the time they start first grade, children will have adopted the mainstream society's views of races, racial stereotypes and hierarchies, and rules for interactions among racial groups. Quintana (1998) found that between the ages of 10 and 14, racial minority children already possess an awareness of a social hierarchy among various ethnic and racial groups. Adolescents of color also felt that they were being evaluated on the basis of their ethnic and racial group membership. Emerson, Kimbro, and Yancey (2002) found age to be inversely related to the number of interracial friends and social contacts a person had.

Based on this research, interventions to eliminate racism should be incorporated early into children's lives. Because schools are places where the majority of the children spend the largest portions of their days, designing and delivering programs to reduce racism offer excellent opportunities for educators. Contact theory (Allport, 1958) is one of the most frequently used theoretical conceptualizations of prejudice and the means for its diminution. Contact theory hypothesizes that reducing prejudicial and racist attitudes requires environments that allow for contact between members of in- and out-groups. According to contact theory, the following conditions have to be present for intergroup contact to result in reduced racism and prejudice: Groups have to be of equal status and participate in cooperative rather than competitive tasks in which they are attempting to achieve mutual goals.

Since Allport first put forth his ideas about the nature of prejudice and ideas for its reduction, researchers have examined its utility. Brewer and Miller (1988) found that there is a need to personalize the contact between the in-group and the out-group members such that the two persons have the opportunity to evaluate their relative similarities and

differences as individuals and not merely as representative members of a (homogenous) out-group. Pettigrew (1998) supported the notion that the reduction of racism depends on the contact being personally meaningful and the extent to which the newly learned information can be generalized to new out-group members, new situations, and finally new out-groups.

N. Miller (2002), Pettigrew (1998), and Emerson et al. (2002) all critique contact theory on two major points, however. Emerson and colleagues charge that changes in attitudes do not automatically result in behavioral changes as Allport (1958) originally proposed. Miller and Pettigrew noted that the original conditions of equal status, cooperation, and working toward a common goal do not adequately address the process by which prejudice would be reduced. Pettigrew suggested that learning facts about the out-group (i.e., including stereotypes about the group), creating emotional connections with members of the out-group (e.g., increasing empathy, perspective-taking ability, and forming friendships), and finally revising previously held beliefs about the out-group would increase the likelihood of reducing racist attitudes.

Educators wanting to address the development of racist attitudes in children should be committed to longer term, repetitive interventions that involve not just the children but other stakeholders as well (e.g., parents, teachers, and administrators). Not only are facts about specific racial and ethnic groups (e.g., history and customs) needed, and the development of general reasoning skills to apply to new situations and new racial groups, but it is also important to allow children to confront and question racial stereotypes in themselves and others (London, Tierney, Buhin, Greco, & Cooper, 2002). Children who have already experienced racism and discrimination could be assisted in dealing with negative effects of racism by helping them accurately attribute negative events to stigma (Crocker & Major, 1989) and by promoting a strong sense of racial and ethnic identities (Pizarro & Vera, 2001), collective self esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and increasing critical consciousness (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1997).

Preventive interventions can evoke difficult emotions that may hinder the promotion of positive interracial relationships (Stephan & Stephan, 1992). Creating atmospheres where children can discuss negative reactions, such as anxiety, confusion, shame, and even anger, and can learn how to cope with them may facilitate positive outcomes of intergroup contact.

CONCLUSION

The elimination of racism as a social justice issue will be a major challenge to mental health and education professionals. The costs of racism to

People of Color include increased risk of physical and mental health problems, decreased access to educational and vocational opportunities, and exposure to policies, institutions, and environments that are toxic and oppressive. There is no simple strategy for eliminating racism in education and mental health. Training new professionals to include social justice in their professional missions is a critical component of this goal. However, in addition to transforming professionals to adopt social-justice oriented worldviews, it is critical to commit resources in educational settings to prevent racist attitudes and beliefs where they begin.

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